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and Stimulations
in Underdeveloped
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P A R T I

ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS
AND STIMULATIONS
IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

PREFACE

D. YOUNG

The International Social Science Council is pleased to present in this special issue of *International Social Science Bulletin* its first major published record of achievement. The occasion seems suitable for a brief introductory statement about the origin of the council and its relation to the International Research Office on Social Implications of Technological Change.

Representatives of five major international social science associations in the fields of law, sociology, economics, political science and social psychology established the International Social Science Council at Unesco House in October 1952. These founders were later joined by representatives of anthropology. The membership of twelve representatives drawn from these six fields has been increased to eighteen by the co-option of six additional members from other disciplines or countries.

At the time of the writing of this preface, the International Social Science Council is not quite eighteen months old. A substantial part of this short period since its establishment has necessarily been taken up with organizational and administrative work which is inevitably cumbersome when both international and multi-disciplinary problems are involved. The membership of the council may well take satisfaction in their effective resolution, in the brief span of one and a half years, of numerous problems inherent in the creation of an international agency.

There is also reason to be proud of the fact that, notwithstanding the difficulties during the initial period of formation, appreciable accomplishments can already be recorded. The council has conducted a significant survey of social problems and available facilities for social research in several countries of the Near and Middle East. It has prepared a preliminary report for Unesco on the lacunae still to be found in surveying, on an international level, the present stage of the social sciences. Further, as an outcome of its first plenary general assembly held in December 1953, the council has made progress in developing an international and interdisciplinary programme for research on problems of society related to scale.

Other difficulties facing the council are due to the relative youth of the social sciences. In the older disciplines of the natural sciences and the humanities there is greater agreement throughout the world concerning fundamental concepts and research method than there is for the social sciences. Over the years there has grown an almost worldwide understanding of research and scholarship in the disciplines antedating the social sciences, which provides a firm basis for building new and more effective forms of international co-operation. To illustrate the relatively disadvantageous position of the social sciences, it may be pointed out that no universal agreement has yet been reached as

to whether or not they should be held distinct from other fields of research. In the United States and some other countries it has been generally agreed that they should be; while in France, for instance, it is still maintained that there is no valid distinction in the long run between the social sciences and the humanities. However the social sciences may be defined and grouped, they include a variety of types of research which differ greatly from the point of view of method and level of observation.

There is a widely felt need for the social sciences which exceeds their ability to fulfil that need in a satisfactory manner. Confidence in them flows in part from the belief that because rational thinking and objective methods have been highly rewarding in advancing understanding of physical and biological phenomena, it is reasonable to assume that similar rewards should flow from the study of the social life of man. Moreover, such confidence is supported by the fact that it has been the common experience in many countries during recent decades that whenever the objective approach to the study of social behaviour has been seriously attempted, the first results have been so fruitful as to give strong encouragement for the future.

In the face of the underlying difficulties of international collaboration in these youthful sciences, it is the task of the International Social Science Council not to administer, co-ordinate and promote research efforts of precise and well-defined scope already in process in various parts of the world, but rather to help the development of the social sciences where help seems most to be needed, with special emphasis on problems of an interdisciplinary and international nature. Because there is not the same awareness of the nature and potentiality of the social sciences in all parts of the world, the council must proceed with care and deliberation in moving towards its objectives, even though an impression of over-caution and slow progress may be created.

Working under such difficult circumstances, the council heartily welcomed Unesco's offer to set up a major organization: the International Research Office on Social Implications of Technological Change. The kind of research covered by this title is, in fact, precisely of the type to allow the council to prove its usefulness and, through the results achieved, the validity and utility of the social sciences themselves.

The social implications of technological change present a two-fold aspect. In the first place, technological change in the world is now proceeding at a terrific pace. The rhythm of invention has quickened incredibly during the past decade and is increased even more by the rapid spread of inventions. The result is upheaval in traditional ways of life for hundreds of millions throughout the world. Although in the long run it is hoped that such transformations will prove beneficial to mankind, there is little doubt that for the time being they often entail suffering and misery, and threaten order, peace and civilization. It is by no means inevitable that, because analogous changes took place in disorderly fashion in Western countries during the nineteenth century, the same or worse should now automatically be the fate of the so-called under-developed countries. One of the main tasks of the social sciences is, through the careful consideration of past and present events, to foresee developments and help in the resolution of problems consequent to social change. The findings of the social sciences can be a decisive factor in the decisions and operations of international agencies, governments and private interests concerned with such matters.

There is, however, another side to the problem which is no less important,

even if of a more theoretical nature. The rapidity of technological change, coupled with the wide diversity of settings—geographical, economic, historical, cultural, etc.—in which the same influences are being exercised, provide those laboratory-like conditions which many claim are unavailable to social scientists. The opportunity is offered the social sciences not only to contribute to the amelioration of human suffering but also to improve their scientific character and their capacity for still greater service.

The International Social Science Council is well aware that the establishment of the International Research Office on Social Implications of Technological Change has created nothing new for, in many parts of the world, universities, institutes, governmental and private agencies are already engaged in productive work within the field of the Research Office. However, these undertakings are hampered by the fact that, spread over the world as they are, they in many cases lack sufficient facilities for exchange of information and knowledge of what others are doing. Furthermore, in the very places where major changes are taking place, local workers are too often in need of more adequate means for research and the exchange of information. The International Research Office does not aim to supplant other institutions nor does it expect to be able, in the near future, to fulfil all the wants so badly felt in areas of change. It has a necessarily modest objective: to be able, slowly and progressively, to act as a link or intermediary between institutions and individuals already engaged in similar work; to keep records of work already accomplished and of projects now under way; to act as a kind of clearing house between all concerned; and to offer whatever information and advice it may possess wherever it is needed.

A first attempt in the above direction has been made with the international seminar organized through the generous help of Unesco, the main results of which form the subject matter of the present issue. To Unesco's Department of Social Sciences, to the staff of the Research Office, and to all the participants, I wish to express thanks and hopes for the future on behalf of the International Social Science Council.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS AND INCENTIVES IN A TRADITIONAL AND IN A MODERN ENVIRONMENT

General report on the round table organized by the International Research Office on the Social Implications of Technological Change (Paris, March 1954)

G. BALANDIER

When they decided on this topic, the organizers of the round table were attempting to deal with two very different types of difficulties. They were taking up, in the hope of clarifying it, a concept which, though it has come into widespread use, is nevertheless still very far from precise—the concept of motivation. And, secondly, they were embarking on the study of a whole group of problems—arising out of economic development and, in particular, out of the process of industrialization—which are at present shared by great areas of the world where there are enormous demands for equipment and modernization. There were therefore likely to be many difficulties, both on the theoretical and the practical side; but at the same time, those very difficulties were indicative of the scope and potential usefulness of research along these lines. The object of the meeting organized by the Research Office was to assist in this work by listing the main questions involved, making a critical assessment of the notions most commonly encountered, and formulating a few suggestions to serve as a guide in further investigations.

The economic development schemes are now in progress in the so-called ‘underdeveloped’ countries, and the technical assistance programmes carried out in certain territories have shown the decisive part played by psychological and cultural factors when financial and technical problems have been newly solved, at least for the time being. This has led certain observers to take the view that underdevelopment, as such, is only partly a matter for economists—and possibly, as one of them puts it, ‘only in a very small degree’. Similarly, comparative studies undertaken, for instance, on the specific revenues of certain countries have shown what serious errors in assessment may result from concentrating attention on numerical data alone. It is absolutely necessary that cultural features, affecting the production, distribution and consumption of wealth, should be taken into account. It is therefore not surprising that several writers, when considering the concept of revenue to which we have just referred, make allowance not only for the ‘accounting aspects’ but also for ‘psychological’ (and cultural) aspects, which they are sometimes inclined to regard as playing a very special part. Forms of behaviour which have been developed in a traditional civilization still operate long after technical and economic changes—whether as regards attitudes to modern labour and the products of that labour or the ability (or inability) to accumulate capital and to embark on business undertakings—have overthrown the old social order. The sudden introduction of industrial civilization which, in one form or another, is the necessary condition for material progress, not only gives rise to a problem of technical adjustment: it calls for a new balance in motiva-

tions and thus necessitates a very real 'conversion' in the individual. This constant intervention of the cultural factor explains why, in his paper, Professor M. J. Herskovits considered the problem of fitting the individual into a new 'economic environment' in the light of two 'key concepts': the concept of motivation and the concept of the cultural pattern. Neither of these two factors operates alone and they can only be considered in close association.

From another point of view, it is important to make it clear that the idea of motivation, as elaborated by the psychologists, relates to the physiological conditions peculiar to the human system as well as to the nature of the experience already acquired. If it relates to fundamental (or primary) human needs, it requires much more reference to the framework of experience, whether natural or cultural. It therefore makes an inter-disciplinary approach essential and it was for this purpose that the Research Office took the very useful step of arranging for co-operation between different specialists (anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, economists and geographers) with a view to limiting the use of the concept to the economic field. Thus at the outset, a problem of adjustment among different branches of study had to be faced, and this experience has taught us much that may be extremely useful in the future.

The comparison between the nature and interrelations of the economic motivations operating in a traditional environment, on the one hand, and in a 'modern' environment, on the other, leads to the discussion of the incompatibilities and changes encountered in various types of situation. In particular, it shows, as Professor D. Kresch has already noted with reference to psychological theory, to what an extent motivations in general consist of closely inter-related factors, and that they can not vary in any particular without affecting the whole. This explains the 'chain reaction' which comes about, for instance, when a peasant previously living on a subsistence basis in an agricultural society moves over to the paid employment sector. Moreover, such a comparison is of practical use so far as it gives us material for answering the basic question: What types of economic situations induce workers to engage in the modern forms of economic activity? There can be no question of confining attention to cultural and psychological considerations, such as resistance to changes which seriously disturb social relationships, an inadequate degree of adaptability, comparative inertia in the matter of innovation, etc. At this point in the investigation, the idea of the general situation (with due regard for the direct or indirect compulsion suffered, the opportunities for access to the riches of modern economy, the opportunities for organization open to workers and producers, etc.) and that of differential variation (according to ethnic and social categories, age-group and sex, etc.) should guide research. The discussions that took place at the meetings of the round table made this abundantly clear.

It is thus impossible to carry out a too narrowly-defined investigation bearing mainly on attitudes towards the modern techniques and economic machinery being introduced into the so-called underdeveloped countries. Such a study is really useful only if it is based upon comparative data and if advantage is taken of the special methods peculiar to the various branches of study involved. The discussion meetings organized by the Research Office were designed to bring out this fact and, at the same time, to enable a first assessment to be made of the knowledge already at our disposal. The organization of the discussions was inspired, as the chairman, Professor R. Firth, had asked, by the desire to furnish guidance for the conduct of further

investigations and to carry out a dynamic study combining the theoretical and the practical approaches.

It was clear, from the first, that problems of terminology and the interpretation of concepts were bound to play a very important part. The reason for this, as we have just suggested, is to be found in the present needs of research and the necessity for listing the existing material and making a critical assessment of it.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SUBJECT OF INVESTIGATION

There are objections to the term 'underdeveloped country', in so far as it appears to imply that progress consists in technical and economic advance alone, and to reflect a somewhat ethnocentric outlook on the part of the economically powerful peoples. Professor D. P. Mukerji criticized this term, which has been adopted by the various international organizations, and suggested that a more 'dynamic' term should be used in its stead, taking into account all the socio-cultural and economic aspects of life which characterize the 'development' of a society.

Professor C. Lévi-Strauss warned against the dangers of a unilateral outlook, pointing out, in particular, that the so-called underdeveloped societies cannot be simply receivers but also have something to give. Where we find that there are no economic incentives, or very few, we may assume that there is often a different balance of incentives. We must beware, moreover, of regarding our own system as the only good one; it has not come into being without serious disturbances and at a high cost to certain social groups. Societies which are at present engaged in the processes of economic development and industrialization may, with the help of their own specific cultural wealth, build up their own systems of motivations and incentives; and before these are criticized by reference to the criteria peculiar to the industrial societies of the West, they must be subjected to minute examination. They also offer us a rewarding field of study.

Many psychologists, by centring their research on the industrial environment, have, as Professor Herskovits remarked, been working inside Western societies; what matters now is to observe carefully the variations that arise from the diversity of cultural contexts. Indeed any study of behaviour entails reference to these, and most psychologists would like to see research conducted along the lines of comparative studies and the investigation of series of variations. Dr. O. Klineberg pointed out how far psychologists have moved from an explanation linking economic motivations with biological requirements only. He drew attention to the tendency to investigate how the latter 'operate' in particular societies, cultural systems and historical contexts; at the same time, he affirmed the urgent need for defining the most favourable conditions for an inter-disciplinary approach. Dr. A. Ombredane, in the light of his investigations in the Belgian Congo, emphasized the need for comparing the criteria appropriate to work done in a 'white' (modern) environment with those appropriate to work done in a traditional environment. He urged that incompatibilities and discordances should then be noted: the latter were particularly to be found in connexion with the nature of the work (which in the 'white' environment is split up into a number of separate operations whereas, in the traditional environment, it was 'complete'), and the destina-

tion of the product of labour (in the 'modern' system, the worker is a stranger to the consumer of the product). All the preliminary observations show that economic motivations cannot be considered in isolation and indeed emphasize the need to regard them as forming part of 'configurations' or 'systems' of motivations.

According to Professor G. Balandier, when we speak of economic motivations, we know that we have to do with incentives born of necessity, social and cultural stimuli, and direct or indirect compulsion, but it is not easy to isolate these various factors and to classify them in order of importance. The first point to remember is still that the problem of economic motivations cannot legitimately be simplified by relating it to a theory of needs. The second major point is that a problem of this kind cannot be considered apart from the situations in which the motivations operate.

This concept of the situation relates to the conditions of the natural environment, technological standards, and the socio-economic and cultural systems. When we speak of traditional and non-traditional environments, we have in mind a broad distinction between two very different types of situation; for purposes of scientific observation there should clearly be much greater precision in the definition of types, by reference to the three factors mentioned above. Mr. J. Malaurie emphasized the geographer's point of view and laid most stress on the first of these factors. He pointed out how necessary it is to remember that all civilizations are linked up with the phenomenon of 'adjustment to a place', and urged that the study of economic motivations and incentives should not be divorced from a survey of resources, which enables a whole group of boundaries to be defined. Eskimo and Tuareg societies, on which this writer has concentrated, are cases in which these natural boundaries are particularly striking. A first hierarchy of motivations can thus be made by reference to the conditions of the environment.

While the geographer deplores that proper attention is not always paid to environmental conditions, the psychologist complains that in certain investigations (conducted by anthropologists and sociologists) there has been no inter-disciplinary co-operation, in which his own special techniques could have been useful. Dr. O. Klineberg mentioned that useful experiments could be carried out on the problem under consideration and, in particular, drew attention to the need for a differential examination. Although motivations appear as 'configurations', it is nonetheless true that some of them predominate—and that the predominance varies according to the social group concerned and the particular situation with which we are dealing. To the idea of the hierarchy of motivations must therefore be added the concept of the relativity of the hierarchies.

The very fact that this comparative study of conditions in a traditional environment and conditions in an industrialized environment had been suggested raised the problem of adaptation to the latter type of environment. Taking up this 'question of the reorientation of motivations, Professor B. Hoselitz emphasized the importance of research relating to 'marginal' individuals and groups. The individuals who are classified as marginal may either react in a rigid manner that betrays a failure to adjust, or, on the contrary, they may show a plasticity that reveals them as active promoters of innovation. This latter attitude may offer the best opportunity of investigating the conditions most conducive to a genuine change in motivations. Owing to its vagueness, however, the concept of the 'margin' gave rise to a

considerable number of objections, particularly from Professor Herskovits. The term is ambiguous because its use in both economics and anthropology creates confusion and because the social groups to which the expression may be applied are not precisely defined. Professor R. Firth, while laying emphasis on the idea of marginal groups, endorsed Dr. Mukerji's proposal that research should be organized on the basis of the 'intermediary groups' which come into being as industrialization proceeds.

Some of the objections just mentioned brought out the fact that, in investigations undertaken on the basis of the marginal concept, greater attention has been devoted to the negative aspects ('disadjustment', failure of motivations to respond to the needs to economic progress, etc.) than to the positive aspects. Professor Herskovits emphasized the latter and, in particular, mentioned the case of the Chagga (Tanganyika) who have adapted themselves to coffee-growing, organized agricultural co-operatives and set up a bean-drying business. This adjustment has been achieved without degrading the people's religious concepts or code of values and without disorganizing the traditional society. Illustrating his remarks with other examples drawn from Africa, Professor P. Gourou also directed attention to the phenomena revealing a trend towards adaptation. He said that a better knowledge of African institutions, and a conviction that 'social' considerations should take precedence over 'technical and economic' considerations, might have been very helpful in securing success in a greater number of cases and in facilitating modernization. He recommended that a study be made of occupational groups (such as railway workers or the staff of shipping companies in equatorial Africa) which, for reasons that are not yet clear, constitute a framework within which the calling in question is effectively pursued.

All these observations are linked with a more general problem, namely: in what way are behaviour patterns conditioned by a new situation? What types of situation are most conducive to a change in the trend of behaviour? What are the ends (traditional and new) for which the economic motivations serve as means. The investigation of these motivations cannot be separated from that of the values they 'serve' and of the resulting forms of behaviour. The phenomena of adjustment and disadjustment cannot be clearly grasped except at the level of the connexions between these three factors, and many economists who are specially interested in the problems of the underdeveloped countries have drawn attention to the fact that these problems are only 'partially economic'. The main conclusion drawn from the first day's discussions was therefore that an inter-disciplinary organization of research was necessary. There can be no doubt that many projects undertaken in the field of economic studies are still based on the concept of the 'economic man'. They have more or less overt psychological implications which call for meticulous examination and which may prove completely false when applied to very different cultural contexts, as in the case of the so-called underdeveloped countries. Dr. O. Klineberg, for instance, emphasized the need for a psychological approach, which has so far produced only a very few noteworthy studies.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF MODERN ECONOMY

The introduction of a modern economy into traditional societies gives rise to a dualism which was very clearly brought out by Professor J. H. Boeke

in his comparison of the two economic systems. This dualism can also be seen in the pairs of concepts suggested by various members of the round table as a means of clarifying the terms 'traditional environment' and 'modern environment'; there is no need to mention them all, but the following are examples: non-industrialized society and industrialized society, pre-capitalistic society and capitalistic society, closed society and open society, etc. It is difficult to pick out any one of these pairs of concepts as being fully satisfactory. Two lists of more or less parallel features might, might, however, be drawn up as follows:

Non-industrialized environment	Environment in which industrialization has begun and is proceeding
Predominance of a subsistence economy	Very much reduced importance of a subsistence economy
Maintenance of a relatively 'autocratic' control by the members having authority over the basic groups	Trend towards the development of individual control of income and of the consumption of wealth
Importance of exchange and of 'give and take', etc.	Importance of competition, etc.

These are the opening terms in the parallel lists suggested by Professor G. Balandier, which may lead to a definition of the types of situation and which, in any case, show how profoundly this dualism affects the whole socio-cultural complex.

Professor J. H. Boeke, after reminding his listeners that there is no possibility of a choice between a subsistence economy and a market economy, sought to define the general conditions of an economy which might lead to a more satisfactory analysis of the problem. The fundamental change is obviously the increasing circulation of money. The first problem to be considered is that of people's reactions towards money and the possibilities of accumulating capital. Some members of the round table pointed out how closely consumption is bound up with cultural characteristics as a whole. Forms of remuneration may have a negligible incentive value not only because of the low level of remuneration but also because they are not adjusted to the characteristic forms of behaviour. Dr. A. Ombredane, for instance, referring to his research in the Congo, mentioned that, in that region, remuneration implies an idea of prestige which is more important than that of gain and is related to immediate consumption, being a factor in a 'very special type' of organization of consumption. Moreover, irrespective of the local opportunities for saving and accumulating capital, one of the major problems is how to train producers as entrepreneurs 'in the European sense'. Certain forms of behaviour with regard to capital (predominance of expenditure on consumer goods, circulation of money for the purposes of usury alone, hoarding, etc.), and certain ideas of what is or is not an economic proposition, may create conditions militating against economic progress. In this connexion, it is important to take into account the time factor, which has a very profound influence on socio-economic phenomena: in the underdeveloped countries, short-term results and short-term efficacy are preferred to medium and long-term undertakings. This attitude is to be accounted for, in many cases, by the influence of cultural systems (those which we call 'traditional') that set very little store by activities whose results are deferred for any length of time. Mr. H. M. Philips' question:

'Are we working for next year or for the next generation?' reflects the dilemma with which we are faced.

The study of reactions to modern economy again brings to the fore a second problem to which we have already referred, namely: What are the prevailing attitudes towards work? What benefits is it expected to produce? Dr. O. Klineberg said that this question was of great interest and suggested that the hierarchy of motives—money, security, prestige, interest in the work, attachment to the social contacts formed through work—should be studied in relation to cultural contexts, situations and social groups. Such a study should reveal a set of variations which could be analysed in detail and thus provide useful guidance for further work. It was clear to all the members of the round table, however, that far too little material has so far been assembled in this sphere; it is therefore essential that attention should be drawn to the gaps in the information available, and Professor Ombredane made a practical suggestion when he asked that sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists should be given an opportunity of co-operating in drawing up a questionnaire to provide a framework for future investigations.

After the discussion of these preliminary problems, Professor D. P. Mukerji asked that the studies should be conducted dynamically, and that all the various types of reactions to new techniques and new forms of economic organization—hostility, indifference or preference operating in favour of a particular change—should be considered. Remarks made by Professor B. Hoselitz opened up new prospects here, suggesting that resistance to change is not as active as it is generally said to be. Contesting certain anthropological views, which attach special importance to systems of values, he stated that what matters is not so much to 'change' fundamental values as to 'change' economic and social institutions so as to make them more receptive to innovations. He mentioned the emergence of new needs—the major stimuli of economic activity and invention—and pointed out how little resistance these needs encounter when they are reflected in terms of entirely new goods and services, unless religion or unreasonableness puts obstacles in the way. On the other hand, he pointed out that, when the need for commodities which improve living conditions, or the need for more efficient techniques, does not prevent resistance to certain changes, there can be no doubt that the reasons accounting for the resistance are perfectly rational. In this connexion, mention may be made of the introduction of the plough into equatorial Africa, or of the clearing of stones from cultivated fields which was recommended by agricultural experts in Turkey. There were very good reasons for the rejection of these changes by the local peasants, since the proposed improvements involved serious dangers owing to the friability of the soil and the climatic conditions.

Mr. B. F. Hoselitz indirectly suggested a useful comparison which, so far as the problems of adaptation to modern economy are concerned, shows the contrast between a trend marked by a reasoned optimism and a trend marked by extreme caution. Mr. J. Malaurie, referring to the very special example of the Eskimos of Thule, stated that, in no case of this sort, can there be 'any reason for restricting modernization'. Anthropo-geographers and economists tend to subscribe to the first of these trends, whereas certain anthropologists, being doubtful of the adaptability of typical modes of behaviour and giving first place to cultural aspects, may invest the second of these trends with a fundamentally pessimistic character. Mr. J. P. Lebeuf raised some major

objections, dwelling on the preponderant part played by religious factors, on cases of the 'wrong use' of manufactured commodities and cases of the hoarding of money. Professor Ombredane suggested the need for caution in making judgments, pointing out that it sometimes takes more than a generation to secure the acceptance and efficient use of a new tool or an alien technique. He laid particular stress on the conservative influence of the native woman, which, in many cases, puts a check on innovations. This observation, which calls for a series of special investigations, deserves consideration by research workers. There can be little doubt, however, so far as these controversial points are concerned, that a comparative approach of the kind to which attention has already been drawn several times is for the time being the best attitude for research workers to adopt. Incidentally, the interest of certain members of the round table (as revealed, in particular, by the remarks of Professor Mukerji) in 'intermediary' phenomena, was characteristic of their desire to concentrate on 'average' cases and so avoid being led to extremes in either direction.

Professor R. Firth rounded off the consideration of this group of problems by stating and clarifying the subjects on which further investigations are necessary. He suggested, in particular, that a study should be made of the foreseen and unforeseen effects of the introduction of foreign tools; of the problem of reactions towards mechanization; of the assessment of the social cost of innovations; of the formation and use of capital and the social implications of these processes. This last point, to which various observers drew attention (Mr. H. M. Phillips, Governor H. Deschamps) and on which Professor Firth was anxious that comparative studies should be organized, is a most important factor in any study of the phenomenon of the expansion of monetary and market economies.

THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT 'IN TRANSITION'

It is in connexion with the introduction of so-called 'cash' or 'commercial' crops that the extent to which peasant reactions are modernist can best be grasped. As several contributors noted, the increased cultivation of these crops intended for the foreign market gives the land a new value, creates a new relationship between man and the soil, and, in certain regions, gives rise to particularly serious questions of land reform. There is no doubt that the form and rate of these changes vary from territory to territory. Professor Hoselitz reminded his listeners of this by drawing a distinction between two fundamentally different types of development: the gradual introduction of cash crops, or the sudden complete transformation of the old subsistence economy, associated with the rise of urban centres (e.g. in China). Professor Hoselitz also laid stress on another feature of these changes, which is of particular interest for the study of economic motivations: the introduction of commercial crops makes the small producers more dependent on the big farming concerns and subjects them still further to the whole economic system associated with these concerns. In a process of this kind, the problem of the organization of the small producers—for instance, in co-operative societies—becomes of primary importance.

The moment we started comparing notes, it became clear that situations differ greatly. Professor Doucy quoted the example of the Belgian Congo,

where the new crops were introduced by European settlers or by the government, which was endeavouring to create a 'peasant class'. The difficulties, in this case, were due not only to the instability of the village settlements and to low productivity, but also to the fact that the measures taken failed to make due allowance for the special conditions of the physical and social environment. The development of a peasant class resembling (in theory) the peasant class in the Western countries may produce disappointing results, especially when it is associated, in a colonial territory, with measures initiated entirely by the Government. Governor Deschamps made a point of warning us against the signal failures in which attempts to establish a 'pre-fabricated peasant class' may end. He pointed out that the most constructive experiments have been those resulting from spontaneous movements.

Instancing the development of cacao plantations in the Fang country, the Gaboon and the South Cameroons, Professor Balandier showed that the major problems were only partly technical, having been caused mainly by the nature of the traditional economy itself (transition from a system based on conquest, followed by the slave trade, to an agricultural economy) and of the traditional society. The introduction of the new form of cultivation was hampered in the first place by the customary division of labour, by the mobility of the communities, which have only the slightest bonds with the soil, and by a social organization marked by equalitarian trends militating against the emergence of a land-owning middle class and the development of a wage-earning class within the clan or tribe. In such cases, collective systems create the atmosphere most conducive to the modernization of agriculture. To achieve the best conditions, moreover, not only must there be technical training proper, but also the villages must be trained as sellers (needing to defend themselves against powerful buyers) and consumers. Similarly, Mr. J. Malaurie pointed out the importance of internal social factors, quoting the case of certain Saharan peoples with a highly organized society, where the peasants hold no land of their own at all but farm on the *métayage*, or share-cropping, system; the social and environmental conditions combine to restrict farming. Mr. Malaurie summed this up in the phrase: 'The peasant is compelled to regulate his work by his own under-nourishment.'

The problems involved in the 'modern' organization of the peasants (especially on co-operative lines) occupied the attention of several of those taking part in the round table, who reported on the results of experiments in Peru (Professor Matos Mar), Indonesia (Professor Boeke), North Africa (Professor Leduc) and the Pacific region (Professor Firth). Professor Boeke drew up a particularly useful system of references by recalling the weak points of the rural co-operatives organized in Europe—a tendency towards expansion and centralization, which reduces the sense of practical co-operation at the local level, inability of the peasant members to manage and supervise the organization, tendency for these institutions to turn into 'companies', which restricts the opportunities for new members to join, etc.—and urged that these lessons should not be forgotten in present efforts to foster co-operative systems in the underdeveloped countries. After making these general observations, which are applicable to any form of co-operative organization, Professor Boeke drew a distinction between two forms of co-operation which are peculiar to these countries: one being of the 'European' or 'Western' type, organized on 'capitalist' lines and essentially intended for economic

purposes, and the other 'local', limited in extent and, in fact, representing a real reorganization of village life. In this connexion, he drew attention to various examples to be seen in Asia and asked that help should be given to 'these co-operative societies which have no funds and no specific aims but are seeking to instigate joint action in the interests of a better and a fuller life'. In so doing, he made us aware of a type of situation which is likely to lead to a new balance of economic motivations and the other motivations associated with them.

Professor Firth pointed out that a useful starting point for future investigations would be a comparative study of social structures and organizations which may (as in New Zealand) or may not (as in Malaya) provide a basis for the development of the co-operative system. This question of the relations between traditional organizations and 'modern' organizations was in the forefront of the minds of all those present. Dr. Klineberg drew attention to the consensus of opinion on this point and accordingly proposed that research should be undertaken on the following questions: In what circumstances is it possible to introduce new methods of cultivation and new forms of organization by building on the existing socio-cultural foundations? On what conditions is it possible to break with tradition and to introduce an entirely alien type of organization? To what extent is such a break the price that has to be paid for progress?

Professor Firth spoke on much the same lines, suggesting that an assessment should be made of the degree of 'success' achieved in modern experiments necessitating a complete break with the past, that the conditions conducive to a desire for 'change' should be determined, and that the nature of the changes desired should be clarified. Referring to examples drawn from Africa, Professor G. Balandier emphasized that, at least at the outset, the solutions adopted must be specifically adapted to the differing situations. In some cases, powerful chiefs may be able to lead the movement for modernization; in some, the process of adaptation may start from characteristic features of the tribal system (e.g. certain communities in the south Cameroons); while, in others, typically capitalistic reactions and changes may actively develop. From another point of view, Mr. G. Balandier drew attention to two other problems: adaptation means that any innovation must have a clear significance for the villagers and that, in a country which has been colonized, it must not be part of a system which is almost exclusively controlled by the colonists.

Professor Herskovits pointed out that all these questions raise a general problem which is of great importance in relation to theories of culture. He reminded his listeners that institutions and types of behaviour which are in line with the customary background have a better chance of being adopted. This led him on to a question of the utmost importance in cultural anthropology: How, and to what extent, is it possible for societies which are very different from one another to co-operate? From this point of view, certain parts of Latin America seem to offer an interesting field of study owing to the importance of the 'mestizo culture' there. The investigations, mentioned by Mr. J. Matos Mar, on which the University of San Marcos, Lima, is at present engaged may produce some invaluable information on this point.

The reorientation of motivations related to a rural environment in the course of modernization is a question too wide to be covered by a few research 'subjects'. This became quite clear in the two meetings devoted to this question,

though various studies that might be undertaken were also suggested at the same time. New data might be collected, bearing in mind the 'technically optimum size', the possibility of combining the extension of cash crops with that of food crops (B. F. Hoselitz), the relations between the development of industrial crops and changes in systems of land tenure (D. P. Mukerji), the reactions of villagers towards cash incomes and, in particular, the part played by hoarding and the immobilization of currency in 'dowries', and the emergence in a rural environment of an 'intermediate' or 'middle' class (R. Firth). It should be added that a study of the migratory movements commonly referred to as the drift from the land, which are of considerable importance both in Asia and in Africa, ought to be undertaken in relation to the topic we have been considering above. What are the practical motivations that induce people to seek an urban environment in which to live and work?

ADAPTATION TO THE BUSINESS UNDERTAKING AND TO THE INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT

The industrial undertaking and its offshoots, in the form of workers' camps or services established by the firm, make up a social complex to which the newly-arrived villager cannot adapt himself without some difficulty. Professor G. Friedmann explained that this introduction to the industrial environment causes a 'shock' by forcing the individual to become a member of new communities that have a far-reaching influence on behaviour. He makes a distinction, in this respect, between the so-called formal groups, represented by the various 'shops' or 'departments', work-gangs, organizations necessitated by the hierarchy within the undertaking, etc., and the so-called informal groups which come into being outside the environment of working life and are based on ethnic affinities, the fact that individuals come from the same place, religious affiliation, etc. So far as the native worker is concerned, the significance and the influence of these two kinds of groups differ. The first, which spring from production requirements and technical considerations, are beyond his control; the second take account of his needs, offer comparatively wide scope for initiative on his part, and keep alive in the industrial environment some of the cultural features characteristic of the traditional environment. As will be realized, these latter groups provide a good field for anthropological research. They help to bring about the 'transition' and act, as a kind of buffer.

To help in the discussion of general problems, Professor Hoselitz instanced two 'cases' studied by the Research Centre in Economic Development and Cultural Change. In a Mexican village (Paracho), with about 2,000 inhabitants, two or three villagers managed to set themselves up as industrial entrepreneurs. The problems which then arose were not so much technical—i.e. connected with the introduction of machinery—as social, resulting from the emergence of a wage-earning class, the development of employer-workman relations, and a status of dependence which had hitherto been unknown. The second survey dealt with a village in Guatemala (Kantal), where there is a modern business, founded about sixty years ago, employing 1,200 Indians from the plateaux. In some cases, two or three generations of the same family are employed. At the same time, the part of the village which has no connexion with the business goes on living as it has done in the past; the cultural system has been strong enough to 'hold' the villagers in spite of the

importance of the factory and the time its influence has been operative. These two cases show how necessary it is to broaden our terms of comparison and to extend the series of variations on fundamental problems. Why do certain societies seek new forms of organization while others, in the same circumstances, do not? What are the personal characteristics which, in one case, lead to conservatism (often purely formal and of no practical significance) and, in another, to a readiness to accept innovations? These questions open up the whole problem of a differential study of reactions to change.

Referring to the results of recent surveys conducted in India, Professor Mukerji also noted that the development of a wage-earning class (e.g. in mining concerns) did not necessarily, of itself, bring about a rapid change in types of behaviour. He mentioned that such a change seems to be linked up with two groups of factors: the proximity of urban centres and the closeness of contacts with those centres; and the influence wielded by Christian missions, which may weaken and reduce the sway of the traditional religion. The weakening of the caste system and its conversion into a class system is accentuated by the operation of such factors which, as it were, accelerate the effects directly due to technological and economic changes.

This consideration of the degree of aptitude for change leads on to the problem of the part played by women as an impediment to the adaptation of the native worker. Professor Doucy, referring to observations carried out in the Belgian Congo, dwelt on the conservative influence of women—the ‘clan pressure’ is exercised through them—and their responsibility for the degree of instability shown by African workers. Mr. Lebeuf agreed with these observations and quoted other examples drawn from central Africa. Professor Friedmann cited facts which he had had occasion to note when carrying out an inquiry in North Africa; he found that the native worker is in a transitional state, ‘hesitating’ between the traditional environment from which he comes and the modern environment found in and around the business undertaking. Such workers are therefore extremely ‘sensitive’ to any influences operating in either direction. The influence of the women in the family group is still very considerable and Mr. G. Friedmann did not think that the progress of industrialization would become easier until a change had been brought about in the women’s attitude.

Professor Herskovits reverted to the cross-cultural approach, characteristic of all anthropological study. He pointed out that, in certain societies, women display genuine dynamism and assert their personality more than men. Professor Klineberg took the same view, adopting the idea of differential receptivity, and uttering a warning against the temptation to generalize with widely differing situations. He observed that women may be more receptive with regard to certain socio-cultural changes and less so with regard to others, and that similar differences were to be found between varying age groups or occupational categories. In this problem of receptivity, we thus had variables requiring systematic investigation.

Following up these general remarks, Professor Hoselitz suggested that problems of basic importance should be approached indirectly, from the standpoint of commitment to the industrial way of life, this concept being one that could give relative unity to the research in question. In order to observe the ‘mechanisms’ characteristic of this commitment, and the ensuing reactions, it would be well to take into account important variations depending on whether the commitment was total or partial. The latter made for instability

maintained the influence of the traditional environment (particularly in the case of women), and gave rise to faulty adjustment within old family units that had been preserved with all their ramifications.

Professor Firth was also concerned with these concepts and advocated defining them more precisely, by reason of their very complexity. The expression 'commitment' could be considered from the psychological angle—the individual's desire, for various reasons, to take part in the industrial sector—and from the socio-economic angle; the evolution of industrialization forcing individuals, sometimes against their will, to follow the new way of life. As for the expression 'industrial way of life', Professor Firth made it clear that a distinction should be drawn between at least four types of situation: work in an industrial environment, which raises the problem of adaptation to machinery and to industrial discipline; production intended for the 'industrial market', though with no commitment to the industrial way of life; consumption of manufactured goods, again with no commitment to the industrial way of life; impact of industry as a dominant economic factor, although certain social groups may escape its direct influence.

No single term could cover all these various possibilities. This was conceded by Professor Hoselitz, who however made it clear that the expression frequently employed referred to the first of these possibilities; it implied the technical relationship between man and the machine and the accomplishment of one portion of a task, and also pointed to a definite state of dependency on the level of social relationships.

Professor Herskovits drew a further distinction by asking that cases where industrial activity had been imposed should be clearly distinguished from cases where this was an entirely spontaneous development, a definite desire for progress. However, the dividing line was never quite so sharp, and criteria for evaluation seemed difficult to define; this distinction appeared to be drawn indirectly, on the basis of the degree of adjustment to the demands of the industrial environment, and the strength of the reaction against that environment. Professor Mukerji directed his criticism along these lines, suggesting a severe scrutiny of terminology and a precise definition of the meaning of the ever-growing list of technical expressions employed.

The problem of adaptation to the specific conditions of any industrial concern immediately raises the question of accustoming employees to rhythms of work and also the question of the discipline these rhythms require. Professor Friedmann stressed these different aspects and showed how they might help to define the scope of research. The development of the industrialization process in a traditional environment or in contact with such an environment implies the introduction of new rhythms of life; it brings to light a transitional phenomenon calling for psychological and physiological examination. Certain features of labour in underdeveloped countries—turnover, absenteeism, occasional low production, etc.—are partly explained by lack of adjustment to the new work rhythms.

Similarly, the enterprise concerned should be organized in such a way as to facilitate transition, prepare men to accept work of a different rhythm from that to which they are accustomed, and to establish teams of individuals all working at the same rate, etc. Hence the importance of studying industrial psycho-sociology from the very start of the industrialization movement. These studies should be specially concerned with the very controversial question of output in an underdeveloped country. Professor G. Leduc stated

this problem when he remarked that a rise in the standard of living depended on a rapid improvement of output. But to what extent were the shortcomings in question to be regarded as the result of physiological conditions, poor adaptation and lack of education, or of certain forms of social relationships?

Mr. A. Braunthal suggested an answer to this question by recommending that the relationship between low salaries and low production should be examined, as well as the reactions (spontaneous or organized) against productivity drives which engender fear of industrial unemployment—as is already happening in certain regions of South-east Asia. He also emphasized that the existence of a colour bar within and outside the enterprise concerned, and even in certain trade unions, could greatly affect the strength and the form of economic motivations.

Moreover, these motivations are undoubtedly linked with the opportunities enjoyed by native workers to organize themselves in occupational groups. This fact was emphasized by Mr. Braunthal, who drew attention to the importance of trade unionism during the 'modernization' of traditional societies and to the special characteristics of trade unionism in underdeveloped countries. In such countries the movement, like most of the changes affecting society and culture as a whole, bore the characteristic features of a transitional phenomenon. In this connexion, Professor G. Balandier drew attention to the difficulties encountered by the first trade union organizations introduced into the French Congo after 1946. These difficulties arose from the following: distrust of a method of organization completely alien to the country and associated, to some extent, with the whole European system of control; a concept of efficiency calling for short-term results; and growth of a large number of small trade unions each with its separate interests. Moreover, where native workers are concerned, internal causes as well as outside influences often militate against the development of effective trade unionism.

Study of these problems of adaptation to the industrial environment should not, however, cause us to exaggerate the difficulties noted or to consider progress impossible; it should not lead to any kind of conservatism which, moreover, would run counter to the present desire for progress on the part of most traditional societies. The orientation of comparative research towards the best adjusted occupational groups, as advocated by Professor Gourou, would help to provide the necessary corrective to any such tendency.

RESULTS AND SUGGESTIONS

Professor Firth, in his capacity as chairman of the round table, gave a general summary of the discussions and exchanges of views; he stressed the fact that agreement had been reached on many points and that despite the diversity of experience, progress was being made with studies conducted by much the same methods. He then considered the results obtained in relation to the aims set by the members of the round table.

Definition of the Research Topic

In the first place, he commented on the outstanding interest of the material used which, gathered as it was from most of the representative regions, was very varied; and observed that it was thus possible to define more clearly the

problem of economic motivations. One implication of the subject under consideration was the possibility of a new balance of motivations, and of a reorientation to meet the needs of economic development. It further raised the question of the time factor, in that the results of short-term observation were liable to be very different from those of long-term observation. The absence of historians and the lack of data made it impossible to give adequate consideration to that aspect of the problem, but its true importance was realized and awaited the attention of future research workers.

Although the concept of economic motivation was not analysed from the strictly theoretical standpoint, it nevertheless formed the background of all discussions and was approached in connexion with the broader phenomena and situations considered. Moreover, it was discussed from the particular angle of each branch of study represented. A co-ordinated approach of this kind, by collating very different systems of reference, brought out the need for comprehensive study and served as a warning against the shortcomings of any one-sided investigation. Several of the members repeatedly emphasized that motivations cannot be discerned separately, but only as part of a whole set of factors whose aspect varies according to circumstances. This illustrated the necessity for inter-disciplinary investigations.

Inventory of Completed and Current Research Projects

Professor Firth dwelt on the importance of the examples discussed during working meetings and their value for purposes of comparison. To meet the wishes of all members, a short bibliography is to be drawn up to serve as a guide to the material used.

Orientation of Further Research

The meeting felt the need for additional research outside the actual topic of discussion, in order to obtain a clearer general view of the problems under consideration. A list of research projects was drawn up by Professor Firth (chairman) and Professor Balandier (rapporteur). It covered three types of problem: study of motivations and their characteristics; study of processes; and study of groups (vocational and co-operative, etc.). It should lead to a consideration of the problems arising from industrial development and the modernization of economy, and should be the first step in the gradual elaboration of a general theory of social change.

Professor Lévi-Strauss observed that the need for increasingly precise and specialized research methods had been consistently stressed. He defined the task ahead as 'clarification of our modes of thought' and offered suggestions for a theoretical approach to the problems discussed during the working meetings.

To begin with, he pointed out that research was all too often organized as if the problem of socio-economic change 'were suddenly appearing on the historical scene'. However, the so-called underdeveloped societies had had technical and economic contacts with each other long before the expansion of Western civilization. Why were they so deeply affected by the changes now taking place? To answer this question, there must be taken into consideration: (a) the change of scale factor involved in 'modernization' processes within traditional societies. This problem was now under consideration by the

International Social Science Council, which had just organized an enquiry into the 'effects of change of scale on the characteristics of social groups'; (b) the factor of the differential divergence between societies that have been brought into contact with one another; there were 'natural partners' with which creative symbiosis is possible, while in other cases there might be incompatibilities giving rise to pathological situations.

On the other hand, Professor Lévi-Strauss cautioned against the tendency to think that immediate, sudden contacts could be made, without any previous preparation. He emphasized that industrialized societies exert a remote influence before forcing their way into any traditional society, and may thus have a destructive effect jeopardizing any possibilities of latter adaptation. Apart from the oft-quoted case of conflicting incentives, consideration must be given to cases in which this negative influence affects old types of incentives before the 'introduction' of new types; a vacuum is then created, which makes any subsequent readjustment more difficult.

In conclusion, Mr. Lévi-Strauss asked that 'the relative influence of the various elements in any one society on another society with which it establishes contact' should be borne in mind. All changes were not possible to the same degree, however receptive a society might be. Study of 'natural partners', selected in accordance with the techniques peculiar to the groups thus brought into contact, might enable a revealing investigation to be carried out along the lines of the differential research frequently referred to during the discussion. Lastly, Mr. Lévi-Strauss suggested recommending a study in which problems would be considered within the framework of a series of societies 'in contact' but presenting increasing differential divergencies.

During each of the working meetings, special attention was given to theoretical considerations, which were also linked with the suggestions for research made by all members of the round table. Collaboration between specialists in the various branches of social science, approaching the same question from the angle of their respective techniques, raises a difficult problem of adjustment.

The terminology and specific capacity for elaborating concepts, peculiar to each discipline, no less than its equally individual study methods, did not lend themselves to immediate co-operation. This question was raised by Dr. Ombredane who enquired how the social sciences could continue practical co-operation on a common research theme? Professor Doucy nevertheless stressed the illustrative value of the first results obtained and said that the round table had given him the idea of organizing a seminar at the Solvay Institute of Sociology in Brussels.

It was not only through this problem of adjustment that attention was directed to questions of methodology. The cases referred to by all members of the round table showed the quality and quantity of the results achieved by a wide variety of investigations covering most parts of the world. But at the same time it revealed the lag between the present state of scientifically assembled documentary material and the present possibilities for the elaboration of theories. An effort to achieve critical assessment and harmonization is necessary not only for the purpose of inter-disciplinary collaboration, but also within each discipline. This may be expected to bring about real progress in research. Our concern for efficiency, however, should not cause us to overlook the fact that where the application of the sciences is concerned, it never pays to go too fast.

MOTIVATION AND CULTURE-PATTERN IN TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

M. J. HERSKOVITS

The adaptation of an individual to an economic milieu reduces itself to the components of his psychological drives as these are shaped by the traditional setting in which he lives. When a total society is under consideration, this becomes a problem in the study of the psychology of culture, or psycho-ethnography. Our key concepts, in terms of this approach, are motivation and cultural pattern. Situations involving changes in the economic and technological structure are but phases of the broader problem of cultural re-adaptation, to be analysed by the investigation of any questions lying in the field of acculturation.

The relevance of our basic concepts has become apparent to students of industrial psychology, even though they have worked exclusively in Euro-American society. Stagner, for example, in discussing the causes of industrial disturbances, puts the case in this way: 'The problem of industrial conflict is the problem of what people want and the methods by which they try to get it.'¹ Or, again, 'The problem of industrial conflict is the problem of democratic self-assertion versus self-assertion without democratic controls'. Though the approach here is culture-bound, his phrasing can readily be translated into psycho-ethnographic terms. The fact that people 'want' things, in the first statement, the element of 'self-assertion', in the second, lie on the psychological level of motivation. 'What they want', 'the methods by which they try to get it', and the mechanism of 'democratic control', represent the cultural directives given these drives. That the problem of motivation, in such cases, 'must be analysed in terms of specific human beings', and that 'it cannot be analysed effectively in terms of industry and labour as collective groups', reduces the question to the least common denominator of the individual, whose reactions, as we shall see, may not be neglected if we are to strike to the fundamentals of any problem where the dynamics of culture are involved.

The position of Polanyi, who holds that 'the outstanding discovery of recent historical and anthropological research is that man's economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships', indicates how students concerned with general principles of economics are setting their findings in a broader matrix. Polanyi's statement, because of its relevance for the present discussion, may be quoted further: 'He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods, he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets. He values material goods only in so far as they serve this end. Neither the process of production nor that of distribution is linked to specific economic interests attached to the possession of goods, but every single step in that process is geared to a number of social interests which eventually ensure that the required step be taken. These interests will be very different in a small hunting or fishing community from those in a vast despotic

¹ Ross Stagner, 'Psychological Aspects of Industrial Conflict', reprinted in *Readings in Industrial and Business Psychology* by H. W. Karn and B. von Haller Gilmer, p. 1-11 (from *Personnel Psychology*, 1950, vol. III, p. 1-15).

society, but in either place the economic system will be run on non-economic motives.¹

Moore has investigated economic motivation and incentive on a cross-cultural basis,² marking 'a comparative analysis of the social preconditions to industrial development, particularly with respect to the motivation of workers'. His investigation, he finds, 'does not lead to a conclusion that would deny central relevance to the established values and institutional structures of divergent social systems. On the contrary, it has documented their relevance in considerable detail'. On the other hand, 'Despite all that may be said about incompatibilities between non-industrial societies and the industrial way of life, the modern industrial system has a rather overwhelming record of penetration into and even conversion of these societies'. The economic evaluation of rewards in 'newly developing areas', in all cases, must take into account that 'wages are always to be viewed relatively to (a) alternative means of support ; (b) alternative systems of social valuations ; and (c) alternative or correlative rewards within the industrial system itself'.

The present paper will develop a theoretical structure for the study of economic motivation and incentive under conditions of technological change that was suggested in earlier discussion of a number of aspects of the subject as it pertains to sub-Saharan Africa.³ In this previous analysis, the relation of certain 'consistent characteristics' of the 'indigenous productive systems of the continent' to the question of the adaptation of societies to new tasks was examined. These had to do first with the rhythm of work; then with the manner in which the available supply of labour can be mobilized so that a newly industrialized economy can function; and finally with the 'motivations for labour, the factor of incentives', which more particularly concern us here.

The psycho-ethnographic approach of this earlier study is exemplified in the following statement where the point is made that developmental projects in Africa 'must build on ways that make sense to the people involved in them if incentives to active participation are to result in the effective attainment of stated ends'. The basic problem was further stated in terms of the need 'to consider how what is brought to a people is integrated into their ways of living, as against the manner in which their established patterns of behaviour are adapted to the requirements of a new economic and technological system. Here we are confronted with the question of the meaning of a way of life for those who live in accordance with it. This, in turn, can be understood only in the light of the findings of that phase of psycho-ethnography that has to do with the mechanisms of learning and conditioning which shape the characteristic motor habits, reaction patterns and accepted modes of thinking of a people.'

In developing our thesis, we will first consider the nature of culture and cultural conditioning, and then proceed to an analysis of the motivational phenomena as they operate in the context of their cultural setting. On the basis of this theoretical structure, some suggestions for research, with particular reference to the African area field, can then be essayed.

¹ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, New York, 1944, p. 40.

² Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor, Social Aspects of Economic Development*, Ithaca and New York, 1951, p. 5, 174, 310-11.

³ M. J. Herskovits, 'The Problems of Adapting Societies to New Tasks', in *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas*, ed. B. F. Hozelitz (Proceedings of the 27th Institute of the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation, Univ. of Chicago), p. 89-112.

The importance of the concept of culture is reflected in the fact that, as Kroeber and Kluckhohn¹ point out, 'in explanatory importance and in generality of application it is comparable to such categories as gravity in physics, disease in medicine, evolution in biology'. Many attempts have been made to define it, these authors citing more than one hundred and fifty definitions, a figure that is doubled if the statements as to its nature and functioning, which can be regarded as extended definitions, are included. There is general agreement, however, that culture is the learned, man-made part of the environment, derived from the unique ability of human beings to employ language and to use tools. Language is at the base of the cumulative character that differentiates human learning and cultural behaviour from the responses of the infra-human forms that are circumscribed by inherent behaviour norms; the use of tools has enabled man to range more widely and to exploit the resources of his habitat more effectively than any other creature.

The totality of human culture, however, has as many manifestations as there are peoples; indeed, when we take individual variation into account, as there are human beings. Each of these group manifestations has its own characteristic modes of behaviour, which is what we mean when we speak of a culture. We are concerned with these latter modes when, as at present, we consider the effects of contact between groups having differing ways of life. In this sense, an understanding of the culture of a group entails comprehension of its material equipment and social institutions, together with those underlying sanctions, expressed in systems of values, that guide the conduct of its members. When we treat of culture as a whole, we stress the unities in the behaviour of human beings; in studying a single culture, we discover the things that differentiate the behaviour of a given group from that of others. On a more sophisticated level, the study of the unities in culture has given rise to the concept of the universal aspects of institutionalized behaviour, while the study of the differences between cultures has enabled us to plot the range of variation in the differing ways human groups achieve similar ends.

There is general agreement as to what these common ends are—the exploitation of the resources provided by the habitat, and the distribution and consumption of what is produced; the regularization of social life to provide for the care of the young, see to it that they are properly trained, and assure equitable relations between the members of the group and its protection from hostile forces that may threaten it; some modes of adjustment to the universe, however this may be conceived; means of providing aesthetic satisfactions; a language; a system of values which renders the cultural forms meaningful and welds them into a functioning whole. What is not agreed upon is the reason for these universal aspects of culture, a point of no minor importance for a cross-cultural theory of economic motivation.

It will be apparent that these aspects sort themselves out into two classes, those that represent efforts to comply with the demands set by the biological nature of man, and those that have a derived, psychological character. The problem under consideration here, in terms of the psycho-ethnographic approach, has facets that fall into both categories. No cultural forms more clearly fulfil biological needs than those which constitute the economic and technological phases of culture. To what extent the effectiveness of a particular

¹ A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, 'Culture, a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions', *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Harvard Univ., vol. XLVII, no. 1, 1952, p. 3.

form in fulfilling such needs determines its acceptability to a given people, is, however, by no means clear when viewed objectively. This is to be seen in the cases where, in situations of cultural change, a people have proved reluctant to accept a technological device, or an economic mechanism, or a more favourable diet, that will provide them a richer store of goods, or more adequate subsistence than their established ways could ever yield.

It is apparent that while we must recognize the role culture plays in satisfying needs, we must not disregard the fact that it is the sanctions of a culture that stabilize the particular manifestation of the way in which a given need is satisfied. Because of this, we must look to the force these sanctions exert if we are to understand the devotion of a people to its pre-established modes of solving a given problem. On what other ground, for example, can we explain why so many agricultural peoples in the world have rejected the plough?

Since man is one of the social animals, it follows that culture is a social phenomenon. Phrased somewhat differently, this means that there is no such thing as a culture which is restricted to a single individual. As has been indicated, individual behaviour varies, but it varies within the limits set by the institutions and sanctions of the society to which individuals belong. Problems lying in the field of culture must therefore be studied in terms of their social setting, which at once brings to the fore the much discussed point of the relationship between the concepts of society and culture.

Reduced to their fundamental components, the positions that lay stress on either concept would seem essentially to involve differing emphases, each having its own historical derivation. That is, students whose principal point of orientation is the concept society may be thought of as following the path set by such scholars as Spencer and Durkheim; those who organize their investigations in terms of culture as holding to an approach expressed in the work of Klemm and Tylor. Depending on the problem under study and the methods employed in studying it, however, either concept would seem to be fruitful, and both, in actuality, do enter to a greater extent than is ordinarily realized into studies having either orientation.

One can hold, that is, to the position that cultural behaviour can best be understood if studied in its social framework; or emphasis can rest on the total body of traditions, the social institutions of a people in this case representing a special aspect of their entire body of custom, their culture. However, it is as unrealistic to attempt to understand social organization without setting it in the cultural totality of which it forms a part as it is to study any aspect of a culture in disregard of the structure of social institutions in which it functions. From this point of view, if a society is defined as any interacting aggregate of individual organisms, then in the case of an interacting aggregate of human individuals, the totality of their accepted modes of behaviour is their culture.

The very fact that culture is defined as learned behaviour makes an understanding of cultural learning essential. This process, called enculturation, may be thought of as cultural conditioning, so pervasive that for the most part it takes on a quality of painless psychological absorption of the forms of behaviour prevailing in the group into which the infant is born. Enculturation begins at birth, and continues throughout life. By the time early childhood has been reached, much of the individual's behaviour has been taken entirely out of the area of conscious response, and has become automatic. As the individual grows older, the area of automatic reaction to cultural stimuli widens, so that the normal adult literally can be said to function much more

of the time on this level than on that of consciously determined responses to the situations he meets in everyday life. At first glance, such a statement may seem overdrawn, but only a slight consideration of the facts is necessary to dispel the illusion that conscious thought predominates in guiding behaviour.

Thus, for example, it is rare that reactions to any aspect of linguistic structure rise above the level of consciousness, any more than does the phonemic system employed in pronouncing the words of one's language. The same is true of the meaning of these words. This frees the individual to give conscious thought to what he is going to say, and makes it unnecessary for him to pay attention to the mechanisms of speech he must use in saying it. This statement also applies to music, to systems of etiquette, to moral codes, to canons of value, to aesthetic responses. These, it should be noted, are cultural elements in which conscious thought enters least. When it is realized that the same principle holds, to some degree, whenever an individual reacts to any culturally derived stimulus that does not involve the element of choice between alternatives, it becomes clear to what extent the human being lives on the plane of automatic behaviour, and thus how effectively he is enculturated.

Cultural responses, moreover, tend to represent reactions to total situations than to stimuli arising from fragmented elements of experience. This is a way of phrasing the fact that every mode of life is patterned and not haphazard; that the individual units of custom, the cultural traits, so-called, that can be discerned in a culture by the student of it, are in actuality interwoven into a series of interrelated groupings called cultural patterns. This patterning of culture, the outer expression of its regularity in organization and functioning, is the means by which a particular culture develops those special configurations that permit us to differentiate it from other cultures. In psychological terms, cultural patterns are to be regarded as consensuses of the individual behaviour patterns of the members of a given group, that distinguish their characteristic reactions from those of the members of other groups. On the level of the objective analysis of culture, cultural patterns are to be thought of as providing the institutional framework for behaviour, as when we speak of the pattern of marriage of a people, or their patterns of production or distribution, or their patterns of religious worship.

Besides conditioning the individual to the modes of behaviour of his group, the enculturative experience creates for him a 'behaviour world' to guide his perceptions no less than his overt acts. Time and space and distance, colour and rhythm, are thus culturally defined for him; the continuum of nature is structured in terms of the conventions set up by his culture.¹ The spectrum is arbitrarily divided into colours which vary in their interpretation from society to society, but which, within a given society, have a common meaning for all. The gamut of the musical scale offers another telling example of how the infinite physical progression of wavelengths is similarly divided into socially acceptable intervals, or the division of time is guided by linguistic devices employed to mark off one socially conceived unit from another. The endless merging of natural phenomena comes to be subsumed under categories that make the world comprehensible to the individual, and permit the character of reality to be transmitted from one generation to the next,

¹ A. I. Hallowell, 'Cultural Factors in the Structuralization of Perception', in *Social Psychology at the Crossroad* (J. H. Rohrer and M. Sherif, eds.), New York, 1951, p. 164-95.

so that the particular type of reality to which the individual is enculturated becomes self-evident to him.

This, however, does not tell the tale of the results of enculturation. In addition to freeing man to think by permitting a large proportion of his responses to be automatic, and by shaping perception so that the world in which he lives is provided with dimensions with which he can cope, enculturation also gives to human experience an emotional 'loading' that aids in achieving individual adjustment and cultural stability. This element of affect comes into play whenever cultural change is in process, whether through internal or external innovation, especially where a re-orientation in the system of values of a people is involved. The operation of these emotional responses can be witnessed in any situation where some sanction of thought or behaviour is challenged. To analyse them, however, is far more difficult, since the phenomenon strikes some of the most involved problems in the study of human psychology. It represents a type of reaction to culturally determined guides to conduct which, institutionalized as social taboos, and internalized as unconscious feelings of guilt and compulsion, constitute a powerful mechanism to hold the acts of men and women within culturally sanctioned bounds.

This provides the basis, moreover, for the phenomenon of ethnocentrism, the quality in human psychology that not only causes the individual to be attached to the cultural modalities of his own society, but to accord them a higher value than he concedes to the ways of other peoples. The attitudes engendered by ethnocentrism assume practical importance in a number of dimensions. As a prime psychological process making for ego-involvement, it permits an extension of the ego structure which yields major satisfactions to the individual who identifies himself with the achievements of his people. And, since in his thinking, the modes of behaviour and the values to which he has been enculturated are not only the best, but the only proper ways in which the ends of living can be fulfilled, ethnocentrism thus becomes a powerful force making for individual adjustment and the emergence of a rounded personality. Where cross-cultural comparison is welded to a structure of power, however, ethnocentrism rationalizes a justification for the imposition of a way of life on those whose cultural patterns are oriented in a different fashion. And where this occurs, or where peaceful penetration convinces a people that their antecedent customs are of an inferior order, it is an equally powerful instrument in causing individual maladjustment and social disorganization.

The place of this emotional content of the enculturative experience in a theoretical formulation of the problems of economic incentive under conditions of change is underscored by the relation of these emotional drives to the phenomenon of motivation. This relationship is so close, indeed, that some psychologists find it difficult to disentangle the two. At this point, therefore, we may well turn to the next term in our equation, and examine the place of the factor of motivation in its cultural context as this bears on our problem.

It may be well, in discussing motivation, to clarify our approach, as was done with the concept of culture. There, it will be recalled, the multiplicity of phrasings that mark attempts to define the phenomenon was indicated; and this attack might have been pursued further to include some exposition of the differing explanations of the source and nature of culture—whether it is biologically or geographically determined, whether it has an independent

existence or is a derived reality that lodges in the minds of observers rather than in the phenomenon itself.

Controversies of this order mark the approach of scientists in any field to their data, and turn on questions of the highest importance as means by which fundamental research is oriented. For those outside the field, however, the relevance of these differing positions is of a lesser order. Thus, in studying problems of the psychology of culture, it is more important for us to analyse the cultural component in terms which represent agreement as to the nature and function of culture than it is to enter into the peripheral areas where concept and method are under refinement. Conversely, in studying the same interdisciplinary problems from the psychological point of view, those principles that represent the core of agreement among psychologists must not be subordinated to any particular position that has been taken regarding them. We have seen that the learning process is fundamental in culture; but in studying the cross-cultural manifestations of education, for example, the varieties of learning theory come to hold a place of secondary importance. On the other hand, in an investigation of this type, the general principle that social behaviour is essentially learned, while the genetic, instinctual component is minimal, a question where controversy has been resolved into agreed principle, is of primary significance.

Whatever the approach to the problem of motivation, it is agreed that one of its important functions is to aid the organism continuously to reach the adjustment required by the total situation in which it finds itself. In terms of gestalt psychology this represents at any given moment a striving for the achievement of equilibrium in the total field situation. There are many theories about its nature and development, one of which, that stresses the factor of need, being strikingly similar to the hypothesis we have encountered in discussing theories of the nature of culture—one which, it may be said, is subject to quite similar reservations. For our purpose, we recognize that to the extent motivational drives arise out of the psycho-physical make-up of man, they are universal, and can be thus held as constants in analyzing the variables represented by their socially and culturally derived manifestations. The physiological universals, that is, enter only in terms of the manner and degree to which the experience of the individual, as expressed in the cultural and physical setting, shapes his choices between alternatives, providing him with the values which direct his approaches to given situations and guide his reactions to them.

Whatever the approach to the problem of motivation, it is agreed that one of its important functions is to aid the organism in reaching adjustment of the kind which may be thought of as the psychological equivalent of the physiological state termed homeostasis. In terms of gestalt psychology, this represents the achievement of equilibrium in the total field situation. It is obvious that the needs of the organism figure prominently in determining these reactions, as where the individual is motivated to look for food, or to find shelter from extreme heat or cold, or to seek sexual gratification. Yet, in the final analysis, there is relatively little of human behaviour, in the precise terms in which this behaviour is manifested, that can be immediately attributed to this source. Even in such elementary responses as those to food or thirst or sex, the intervening term of social convention always enters.

It is cultural conditioning that determines at what time of the day a person feels hungry and what types of food he will seek to satisfy his hunger drive,

or the techniques he will employ in drinking, or the ideals of beauty that will stimulate him sexually.

In terms of the bio-psychic requirements of the organism, cultural imperatives represent derived needs; but the responses to them are none the less powerful because they are derived and not primary. One of the outstanding characteristics of the human infant is the generalized character of his patterns of behaviour. His motor habits are unco-ordinated, his emotional structure generalized and his motivational system immediately related to drives for the satisfaction of his physiological requirements. Since the infant is entirely dependent on adults to satisfy these requirements, his development in one very significant aspect consists of a series of responses to those with whom he is in contact. We thus come to that aspect of the process of enculturation called socialization, especially as this occurs in infancy and early childhood. As we have seen, socialization provides the mechanisms whereby the infant is integrated into his group, experiencing increasing degrees of control over his modes of behaviour and thought which are taken over first from the members of his immediate family and then, as he grows older, from a widening circle of associates.

As the patterns of motor behaviour and emotional responses become more sharply structured in the growing individual, so does the motivational system. Freud and his followers have demonstrated how large a role the motivational forces that determine the behaviour of the individual play in shaping his personality structure. From a developmental point of view, their findings have demonstrated how early in his existence the resulting pattern of responses manifest in later life are laid down. As one psychologist has phrased it, 'While personal histories differ in details, most of them suggest that a predominant motive is established in childhood, largely through the influence of social contacts. As the individual gets older, one activity after another may be taken up while others, which no longer contribute to the satisfaction of the predominant motive, or which contribute less than the new activity, are dropped.'¹

The emphasis here is on the individual, but if we approach the question from a cross-cultural point of view, we find, in overt behaviour as in these underlying psychological drives, that individual variation is limited by a culturally defined framework. Though the problem of the degree to which these fundamental aspects of the human personality structure are culturally influenced has been studied only for a relatively short time, our growing knowledge of how the individual responds to the cultural situation into which he is born has forced acceptance of the principle that culture is a major factor in shaping responses on all levels.

For our purpose, the key in the formulation that has been cited is that the predominant motives which rule the lives of individuals are established 'largely through the influence of social contacts'. Into cross-cultural terms, this brings into play the factor of consensus. For since methods of infant care and child training will, within the limits of individual and regional variation, follow reasonably consistent patterns in achieving the enculturation of the individual, it follows that each member of a given society will have been exposed to similar experiences in the early years of his existence, when so much of his personality structure is under formation. The implications of this fact take us over the entire range of problems that are contained in the

¹ Norman L. Munn, *Psychology, The Fundamentals of Human Adjustment*, 2nd ed. New York, 1951, p. 291.

simple statement of everyday observation that peoples differ from one another. These problems, however, despite their importance, have scarcely been more than adumbrated, and because of their complexity face the student with methodological difficulties that are far from resolved and which, therefore, need not enter into this discussion.

What is important is that the common elements in the enculturative experience of the members of a given group set up particular drives that characterize the responses of those who make up its adult components, as against equally characteristic responses of the members of other groups. It is out of this fact that derived needs, however expressed in a society, come to carry the same conviction to its members as those which are patently determined by biological requirement. This explains in large measure why the ends sought by men and women of a particular society are patterned, since from a cross-cultural point of view these are no more than socially sanctioned responses to prevalent motivational drives. The configuration of common motives and goals that dominate the behaviour of the members of a group thus become the equivalent of what, in the analysis of culture, has been termed cultural focus, the sum of the institutionalized forms of a culture which, in commanding the interests of a people, represents those of its components which most highly motivate the people and in which the goals toward which their activities are directed bring the richest rewards, as culturally defined.

An approach to the problem of motivation that has significant implications for the cross-cultural analysis of problems, such as those with which we are concerned here, is found in the concept of the 'dynamic system' advanced by Krech¹ to account for the continuity of characteristic responses found in the individual. He holds, first, that the 'so-called motivational and cognitive attributes will be involved in every one of our experiences and behaviour', and that 'the so-called motivational attributes of any experience will be intimately related to all other attributes and will change as they change'. Continuing, he states, 'If we wish to speak of a "hunger motive" for example, we must simultaneously speak of the so-called perceptual, cognitive, memorial and other attributes of the experience. My "hunger" is not the same as yours, because my Dynamic System *re* food and eating are not the same as yours. And neither you nor I can have any "pure" sex motive—they are both sullied by cognitive factors.' Therefore, since 'Dynamic Systems are relative enduring structures', it follows that the given system of an individual functions in any situation in which he finds himself, so that 'behaviour' will show both variability and consistency in its motivational and emotional and intellectual aspects.

It is apparent, that if we accept this postulate that knowing and wanting form a single psychological unit, and agree that, in cultural terms, both knowledge and wants are established for the individual through his enculturative experience, we have here a principle of some importance for cross-cultural study. This is especially the case where we are concerned with economic factors in cultural change, since here both means and ends must be taken into account where either the technological system, or the system of production, distribution and exchange, or both, are involved. At this point, we return to the concept of cultural focus, which, as we have seen, is the

¹ David Krech, 'Cognition and Motivation in Psychological Theory', in *Current Trends in Psychological Theory*, Wayne Dennis *et al.*, Pittsburgh, 1951, p. 131-2.

manifestation on the social level of those elements in the total experience of the individual members of a group which hold most interest for them. From this point of view, the fact that focal concerns of Euro-American society lie in the economic and technological aspects of its cultures, something that is true for only a relatively small number of the societies which it has come to dominate, at once brings us a sharper formulation of the psycho-ethnographic problem we are considering here. The utility of this approach is underscored, moreover, by the fact that we are enculturated to total situations, and do not learn our culture piecemeal. Here, on the cultural level, is the equivalent of the psychological unity which Krech formulates in his concept of the dynamic system of response of the individual. Taken together, we have a theoretical frame of reference with which to attack a problem whose fundamental importance in achieving the unities of a world economic order has brought questions of this kind to the forefront of scientific concern.

One of the major aspects of our problem has been phrased by Moore:¹ 'What kinds of circumstances will induce workers to leave traditional modes of production and enter modern economic activity, and what additional circumstances are necessary to secure skills and services essential to the industrial mode of production with its attendant specialization?' Let us extend this formulation by phrasing some of the ancillary questions that the study of economic change, in its broadest ramifications, involves.

A comprehensive approach must include a consideration of how economic expressions of value are re-ordered into terms of money, where money did not previously exist; or to currency where the tokens used in effecting exchange were not pecuniary ones. It should take into account how people are introduced to the concept of saving as related to the allocation of income, so as to provide capital funds for industrial development, with future rather than immediate return the end in view. New attitudes towards the acquisition of unfamiliar goods of all kinds must be probed, and how patterns of the validation of social position by the consumption of valuable goods in excess of daily needs are changed. The attitudes toward the degree of specialization under industrial development, that so materially alters the satisfactions a worker derives from participation in an industrial order based on the handicraft system, must also be analysed.

One caution, arising out of the record of past research, should be drawn. This concerns the tendency, undoubtedly a reflection of the unconsciously enculturated ethnocentrism of the student, to overweight the power of the industrial tradition to impose itself on technological and economic orientations of peoples who live under less complex systems. Where the approach is primarily from the economic or technological point of view, this is understandable in view of the differences in complexity and achievement between the systems of non-industrial peoples and that of Euro-America. This difference is demonstrably so great that, without an appreciation of the power of established tradition to define ends, it appears self-evident that the 'weaker' mode of organization must give way before more efficient methods of production, with the greater material rewards and higher standards of living that those bring. What is often not taken into account is the fact that

¹ Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor, Social Aspects of Economic Development*, Ithaca and New York, 1951, p. 297.

we are here confronted with a question of ultimate values, where material gain may be discounted, despite the very considerable 'pull' of positive incentives that Moore has documented in his research.

Certainly it is much simpler to study the acceptance of change than the rejection of new ways. One of the most difficult problems faced by students of any aspect of cultural change is the methodological one of how to bring the pre-established elements in the scene into proper proportion in analyzing the resultant situation. The lesson may be in the way of being learned in the hard school of experience. We need not go to the various large-scale 'schemes' to see this. We need only take the case of the American Point Four agricultural expert in Liberia who, intent on increasing the production of food, encouraged the cultivation of individual plots in place of co-operatively worked village land. The repercussions, in terms of the strife engendered between the women of a village, were as vigorous as they were unexpected. We hear much of the disorganization which industrial development produces, and especially how those who have received European education tend to lose their cultural anchorage and drift at a loss, dissatisfied with the old because they have rejected it, with the new because they cannot attain it. Yet the number of 'educated' Africans is not small who would agree with the sentiment expressed by such a person concerning one product of the pre-existing technological system, its wood-carving, 'If we don't take steps to save these things, we will have nothing. We'll be like people who don't have anything they can call their own culture.'

This does not mean that undue stress should be laid on the force of these pre-existing patterns, for this would be as unrealistic as is the prevalent tendency to neglect them. Thus, in the regions where a positive appreciation of established custom is found, one also is confronted with the phenomena of urbanization, people leaving their villages to live in towns and accepting the new discipline of employment in industry or trade, or going to mine compounds where the reorientations in customary behaviour are even more extensive. New prestige patterns develop under these situations that must be studied; otherwise, for example, why in the mines of the Katanga would the young men prefer training as mechanics and artisans rather than as masons and carpenters? Or, for example, how do we explain the reorientation in motivating factors that causes a miner on the Rand to leave the security of the mine compound for the competitive labour market of secondary industry? Beyond this, what motivations in this segment of the South African economy lie behind the turnover in labour of those who have apparently accepted this method of earning a living, a turnover that is one of the highest in the world?

The variety of responses to the developing industrial scene, coupled with the differences in the pre-existing cultures and the range of different economic policies and practical measures to implement them to which they are exposed, is what makes of Africa such an excellent laboratory for the study of our problem. In studying it, the factors which are operative in most of the continent give the controls essential for the comparative analysis of attitudes that accompany the changing economic, no less than the changing social and political scene. Or, again, granting acceptance of certain aspects of the new, what is the role of the non-economic habitudes in pre-existing custom, particularly those that concern the supernatural; what forms do they take in situations dominated by the scientific approach that marks industrialization; how do they influence the attitudes of Africans who come to participate in the

industrial scene? What precisely is the effect of the colour-bar in industry, as manifest in unequal wage scales, segregation in jobs, differing approaches to unionization, differentials in housing? What are the relation of these to the 'culture-bar' that arises out of the differences in opportunity to reach those standards of living and education set for persons deemed fully prepared to participate in the direction of affairs? Must we not also recognize the need to study the prevalent attitudes and motivations of the Europeans in the scene, something that has been quite overlooked in the emphasis laid on the need to concentrate on the position and reactions of the native people?

It is illuminating to read the exposition of the total problem, as exemplified in the approach to the practical issue of housing Africans in the city of Elizabethville, that has been given by Grévisse.¹ Here full recognition is accorded the importance of taking pre-established attitude and social behaviour, on the part of Europeans and Africans alike, fully into consideration in attempting to manipulate prevalent points of view, as when he says: 'Modifier ces habitudes serait difficile, sinon impossible, et réellement dangereux.' On the positive side, however, Grévisse recognizes the need for Africans who are in process of becoming urbanized, through being newly brought into the industrial situation, to have adequate motivation that will make of them not only socially but psychologically fully functioning members of the evolving social whole: 'Sertis dans un cadre de vie à tout le moins conforme à leur degré de développement et à leurs saines aspirations, assurés de la paix des esprits et des coeurs, soixante-quinze mille habitants pourront évoluer dans l'ordre, se stabiliser, se détribaliser et jeter les bases d'une structure sociale qui, sans plus être tribale, n'en conservera pas moins un caractère original, reflet de l'âme bantoue et des constantes physiques et historiques du milieu africain.' That is, the objective for the African is: 'étoffer une solide classe moyenne ancrée par la propriété et stimulée toujours davantage par des capacités professionnelles sans cesse accrues. . . .'

Let us briefly review the theoretical scheme that has been presented in these pages. The principal concepts with which we have dealt are motivation and cultural pattern. Motivation, even on the biological level, we have seen to be structured by the cultural setting in which behaviour occurs. Enculturation, the process of cultural conditioning, provides the mechanism of learning which permits the individual to act in accordance with the accepted modes of his society, with the promptness and decisiveness that so largely comes from the automatic character of his responses. These patterned reactions thus both satisfy the requirements of his primary biological needs and secondary drives, and make possible his physical well-being and psychological adjustment.

Every culture, however, is made up of aggregates of patterns. These consist of cultural elements which, to the members of a society, appear as integrated units. Behaviour thus takes on its configurational quality, and as objectively discernible, represents overt responses to the internalization of culturally patterned experiences. From this, it becomes apparent that the study of any segment of a culture to the exclusion of other elements, or of the psychological base, makes for a distorted view, whether on the level of cultural stimulus or socially patterned response. Hence analysing economic or technological

¹ F. Grévisse, 'Le Centre Extra-Coutumier d'Elizabethville', *Bulletin Trimestriel du Centre d'Etude des Problèmes Sociaux Indigènes* (CEPSI) no. 15, 1951, p. 18, 439.

factors alone is not sufficient to develop scientific formulations that strike deeply enough into the causal relationships involved, or point toward workable solutions of the problems of changing conditions.

When we take an inventory of our resources in the way of available data, we find that our knowledge of the cultures of the non-Euro-American world is well advanced, but that comparable psychological materials do not exist. The methodological problem for attacking the questions arising out of contacts of peoples having differing habits of work and systems of value, thus becomes one of welding to our ethnographic knowledge the results of inter-disciplinary investigations which will reveal the psychological patterning that underlie the behaviour, individual and institutionalized, that has been observed and reported. To those studies in personality type that have dominated much of the cross-cultural approach to the psychology of culture must, however, be added intensive research into the nature and functioning of the differentials in perception and motivation which define the world for a people, inform their behaviour, and shape their aspirations. Through [the intensive use of all the resources of the psycho-ethnographic approach, then, we may anticipate not only that we will move towards a more basic knowledge of human behaviour, but that we will control and interpret more effectively the data that are essential to provide adequate scientific guidance for drawing and implementing sound policy in solving the problems of individual and social adjustment.

MONEY, WORK AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDO-PACIFIC ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

R. FIRTH

My main object in this paper is to examine the social effects of the introduction or expansion of monetary exchange in a peasant economic system. An alteration of this kind in the technical media of exchange, need not, *a priori*, have of itself any social concomitants. It is theoretically possible for the appearance of a novel type of exchange medium such as money, or for an enlargement of the amounts of money available and of its uses, to have effect in economic terms alone, facilitating the circulation of goods and their production without making any substantial changes in the social position of the people involved. In fact however, this is very unlikely—social values usually tend to be attached to the new income or consumption effects. And even if income and consumption effects are not large, the new experiences acquired in the production and exchange processes, in gaining and using the money units concerned, become matters of social evaluation, and tend to emerge in differences of social status.

Three points must be made at the outset.

Firstly, the aim of this paper is analytical, not ethnographic. I am taking my examples from the Indo-Pacific region, because that is the one I know

best. But I am not trying to cover the whole range of phenomena presented by these diverse societies. What I hope to do is to set out some of the main considerations involved when money is introduced to an economy in which it has formerly not been known, or when there is a sudden expansion of the uses to which it can be put. This may indicate a framework of propositions for argument and research. The presentation is helped by the great variations found in the region. On the one hand there are relatively simple economic systems such as those of Tikopia or of the central highlands of New Guinea, to which money is just being introduced; on the other, there is the relatively sophisticated economy of peasant Malays or Indonesians, in which money of various types has been known and used for centuries in some transactions.

Secondly, at this stage it would be imprudent to pretend to have achieved a clear isolation of factors. In talking of social change it is necessary also to talk of economic change, since the social elements are so often mediated through the economic. It would be superficial to argue, as is sometimes done, that the peasant producer has no interest in a new production technology as such, but only in the income effects to be derived from it. Just as conservatism in retention of traditional tools may be in part a compound of aesthetic and psycho-physical elements involved in rhythmic use and quality of results, and of status interest in skill of manipulation, so the welcome given to a new tool or to a machine may be partly a recognition of its better technical quality, the novel skills which can be developed with it, and the social esteem which its control may bring. But on the whole, though these elements may influence the adoption of a new technical device, they are marginal to its permanent establishment. In the long run, it is the effects upon incomes and consumption levels, both experienced and anticipated, that seem to be of major importance. In a peasant economy technological progress is not conceived as a normal desirable end, towards which special sectors of economic effort should be regularly directed. So it is with the use of money. Since social changes associated with a new or expanded technology emerge through economic changes and the social evaluation of them, it is difficult if not impossible at this stage of analysis to disentangle the changes due to the introduction or wider adoption of money in an economy, from those due to other aspects of a development process. When young men go out from the village to work for wages, the important social changes that come about may be due as much to the patterns and results of their new type of work as to the fact that they get money for it.

Thirdly, the primary purpose of this paper is social theory, not social application. Already, in some cases, the accumulation and interpretation of data may have been ample and acute enough to allow a counselling programme or advisory service to be of use. But on the whole we are still working out the implications of data which are much too inadequate for solid generalization. Our main task is first of all to call attention to the nature of the problems and the means required for studying them.

CHARACTERISTICS AND EXCHANGE VARIANTS IN PEASANT ECONOMY

Before discussing the social changes associated with the intervention of a money economy in the wide sense, the major characteristics of an Indo-

Pacific peasant economy may be outlined.¹ There is a simple equipment and technology, with little use of machinery and no ideology of mechanization. There is no high differentiation of technical training. Market relations are of a limited character, with a relatively small range of goods and services involved. In prices, conventional estimations are apt to play a large part, and a 'price' is often not given monetary expression. Control of the means of production is non-capitalistic, i.e. capital exists but the owner of it does not control the productive process; there is no clear separation of capitalist-rentier from worker-management in the persons contributing to production, or sometimes even in function when the person is the same. This merging of factor-control is seen also in the merging of rewards of production—the lack of separation of interest, wages and management rewards, for example. The scale of producing units and the volume of product for any single unit are comparatively small. The scheme of economic relations thus tends naturally to be of a more personalized order than in a Western economy. This kind of economic system is closely geared to a type of society in which the social units over much of the field of operation are small, with a local community emphasis; in which leadership and authority are largely produced from within the local group, and are often kinship-based or kinship-linked; and in which local religious cults tend to strengthen the community in many of its operations. Despite the great variation in scale and in sophistication, such characteristics are common throughout the region.

Such a system is conservative in the sense that there is rarely a wish to reject radically any of its major institutional elements² and substitute others. But there may be no stubborn refusal to adopt new items. There may be indeed an enthusiastic acceptance of them, with the implication that they are additions to the economic and cultural stock of a system which retains its basic familiar character. So subtly have new crops entered the economy of Indo-Pacific communities that it is almost impossible to reconstruct any 'indigenous' production scheme for agriculture. The adoption in recent times of the drought-resisting manioc in Tikopia, for instance, has made significant changes in the crop cycle and is likely to alter correspondingly the system of land use and tenure. The substitution of steel axe for stone axe in the interior of New Guinea—a process now almost complete—seems to have led to greatly increased felling of primary forest, with alteration of the balance in the provision of natural soil cover, and increase in danger of soil erosion and loss of fertility. Thus while the impetus to social change may be said to be given by a technological change, this in itself has only been possible by an acceptance or 'committal'—to use a fashionable term—which has welcomed the possibility of increased income in at least some limited spheres. To put the point another way, the real impetus lies not in technology as such, but in seeing the possibility of alternative uses for labour and other resources which will yield the increased income. But apart from realizing the efficiency of the new instruments or processes, one must be willing to subject oneself (or others, if one has command over their labour) to a new discipline. In order to obtain the benefits, one must forego some types of satisfaction hitherto enjoyed. Change is the implica-

¹ Further details are given in my *Malay Fishermen*, London, 1946, p. 22-5 *et passim*. Cf. also the distinctions made by J. H. Boeke, *The Structure of Netherlands Indian Economy*, New York, 1942, p. 57 *et seq.*

² Cases are known in which this appears, as the communities of the Purari Delta under the influence of Tomu Kabu, or the Manus of the Admiralty Islands. But it is a question how far the implications of such a rejection were fully perceived by the people.

tion of human choices. When we speak of the social implications of technological change, we do not mean that the total process is inevitable; we mean only that an initial acceptance or committal in the technological field is likely to be followed by certain results. Some of these may be foreseen, but others may not. Yet it is these unforeseen results which are often of greatest importance, because they are often undesired. Being unexpected, no provision has been made against them, and being often long-term rather than short-term, they may eventuate long after there is any ordinary possibility of reversing the trend.

Now turn to the monetary aspects of Indo-Pacific peasant economic systems. Several kinds of system may be crudely distinguished here according to the degree to which money of Western type is current. There are those few systems where money is not used, and purchasing power is provided by bark-cloth, mats, and shell goods.¹ There are those systems, still common in the Pacific, where Western money is used for a limited range of transactions, but where other articles of more traditional type also still have purchasing power. Here again there is variation. Some systems, as on the south coast of New Guinea, using money for most exchanges of goods and services, reserve shell armlets, necklets and other treasures for certain particularly important transactions, especially those affecting the status of human beings, in which they may play a symbolic as well as an economic role. Others, as on the Gazelle peninsula, may add the complication of dual or multiple exchange media. So in the Rabaul market one may see fruit and vegetables sold indifferently for tobacco, for cowrie shells, or for cash.² Again, there are the systems common in Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaya, where money is the general medium for a range of transactions comparable with those of a Western rural economy. The points of significance in these distinctions are the types of services and goods for the purchase of which money can be employed; and the level or range of purchase which can be undertaken. Every society has its conventions about which kinds of goods and services are proper for calculation and exchange in monetary terms, and which are not. One of the important implications of the introduction or enlargement of a money system in an economy is the re-estimation of goods, and particularly of services which is likely to follow. This may mean in effect a re-orientation of the moral values of the society. One of the most meaningful aspects of the coming of a money economy may be said to be the introduction of a medium of exchange with external as well as internal purchasing power. Reference to an external standard is likely to tend at once to a revision of internal estimations, and by offering hitherto unknown or unrealizable alternatives, to alter conventional placings of resources. Similar results are likely to follow from a rapid expansion of the monetary medium, as by the opening up of new markets for labour or commodities.

EFFECTS OF INTRODUCTION TO A WAGE ECONOMY

Let us now examine in more detail what the economic and social results are likely to be in a community where money with an external purchasing power

¹ I leave out of account here the arguments of Paul Einzig (*Primitive Money*, London, 1949) as to how far such indigenous valuables can be termed 'money'. In my view he pushes this category beyond the point of usefulness, in not distinguishing those which serve as general media of exchange from those which do not.

² Similar to those eastern Nigerian markets in which cowries, cash and *manilas* (brass armlets) serve equally as media.

has not previously operated, or has operated at only a very low volume of transactions. For simplicity take first situations of money acquisition through wage payments, as in a plantation economy. What money may do in such circumstances is :

It may introduce an element of uncertainty into the socio-economic operations of some people, and reduce the relative level of skill and knowledge of those not regularly handling it. In Tikopia in 1929, the use of money was not understood, and the relative values of British coins were unknown. In 1952 there was a spread of knowledge, but unevenly. Some men who had been outside the community to work owned and handled money with reasonable fluency and aptitude. Others, usually older men, might own some money, but handled it with caution and an admittedly imperfect knowledge of its relations, and the price levels of commodities within their economic universe. They had to rely on others to undertake transactions for them. By a few old men, and many women, there was still no real understanding of the nature of money and its operations. This situation can be paralleled by the observations of Kunio Odaka and his colleagues on the Li of Hainan during the war. These people had to supply labour for the Shih-Lu iron mines, according to quotas set by the authorities. They were paid in military currency, which was new to them, whatever their acquaintance had been with other money before. They were allowed to buy some ordinary consumption goods with it from stores, and they used it in trading among themselves, though the sums involved were small and their interest in it limited. But they were not able to figure out the values with ease; many women, and even some of the elders, could not distinguish 5 sen from 10 sen, and they confused sen and yen. All this obviously gives an economic advantage, and probably a status advantage too, to those who take on an interpretative or middleman's role.¹

The introduction of money from wage labour may result in a temporary inflation or pseudo-inflation, in that the amounts of goods and services for which it is regarded as suitable equivalent may be relatively small, and knowledge of the market imperfect. Hence prices may be uneven as regards alternatives, rise erratically, and give 'windfall' profits to some people in positions of temporary advantage.

Money wages may reduce margins of skill, ability and responsibility between workers in respect of traditional types of tasks. For example, on a plantation, or in similar types of work where there is little differentiation made, the common payment of flat rates per month means that all workers of the same classification get the same income, irrespective of skill. (Steadiness and energy may lead to retention in employment, however.) In the traditional economy, principles of equal sharing in teamwork often operate; but there respect for the work and traditional sanctions often tend to keep up the level of production. Differential treatment, by giving wages for individual or team piece-work, or by payment of bonuses for higher output, or by having a graded scheme of jobs, can all tend to give expression to elements of skill and ability. But in all such work there is a general tendency to reduce the level of economic responsibility, of interest in the relation between ends and means, as compared, say, with traditional agriculture. There the worker is always faced by problems of decision about timing and quantity in planting, culling, harvesting, and this gives variety to the occupation.

¹ K. Odaka, *Economic Organization of the Li Tribes of Hainan Island (Yale Southeast Asian Studies)*, Yale, 1950.

On the other hand, the creation of new working roles, especially those associated with mechanical operations, may give some workers margins of income greatly in excess of any they might get in the traditional economy, and greatly in excess also of incomes obtained by their fellows in the new working scheme. A Papuan carpenter or electrician in New Guinea, for instance, may get four or five times as much in real wages as his fellow-villager working on a plantation or the roads.

Yet the introduction of a money economy may also tend to remove from the labour market some marginal categories of labour which were absorbed and active, as far as their limited capacity went, in the traditional economy. The physically weak, the deformed, and many young persons who are not regarded as worth the flat rate of pay, tend to be excluded from wage employment.

The advent of money in wage labour form tends also to alter the economic contribution of women. If a plantation system which handles migrant labour is in operation, the women may be left behind, in which case they may have to put in extra agricultural work. If the women are taken with their menfolk in families then the reverse may be the case—there may be no place for them in the economic structure. Alternatively women may find other paid work outside the men's economic scheme.

The income effects of these operations have repercussions in the wider economic and social spheres.

The wage labour pattern tends to provide income in relatively large sums, as against the small increments of local marketing in the more unsophisticated systems, and this may affect consumption patterns. With the advent of a monetary economy there is also usually an enlargement of consumption patterns by taking in goods not purchasable by the traditional circulating media. This involves the possibility of greater differentiation in property-holding, diversification of cultural interests owing to differences in taste, and to a wider range of personal incomes.

On the other hand, while the substitution of money for the traditional means of remuneration may enlarge the economic field, it will not necessarily do so, or do so to the extent expected. In the scheme of preferences, the attractions of traditional, non-wage employment may still be high, either subsistence agriculture, etc. or cash-cropping. The Li of Hainan worked in the iron mines because they were drafted, not for the money. To the question as to which type of work they preferred, they all answered farming. And when asked if their mine pay were increased greatly, to two or three or even twelve times what they were receiving, in addition to their food, they still stated a preference for farm work. Again, while the conventional notion about earning money is that one gets as much of it as one can, the backward sloping supply curve of labour is often found with the advent of a monetary reward for work. The worker is used to having a certain level of consumption goods as his target, and so long as he can reach this, he is satisfied. So an increase in the rates of wages may result not in an increase of the amount of work done, but in a decrease, since the target is reached sooner. For the Melanaus of Sarawak, for instance, the only permanent form of investment is in land, and they are used to preparing sago, their main work, to procure a certain level of income, to meet family obligations, to build a house, to arrange a marriage. Otherwise, they do not produce sago. If the price of sago is high, and cash is therefore easy to obtain, the women tend to reduce the time they spend in trampling

the sago pith. If a young man has earned enough money for clothes, and customary presents to girls, he stops felling and rasping sago palms. The hardest workers are married men with young families, or landless orphans approaching marriageable age.¹ For them the marginal value of the product is higher.

The cumulative effects may also mean a modification in the general income structure of the community. In particular, they make available to young able-bodied men a source of wealth inaccessible to their elders, in quantities far greater than the traditional economic organization can usually afford. But the effects must not be overestimated. Hogbin and C. S. Belshaw have pointed out how for the Solomons, in the traditional agricultural scheme, the accumulation of wealth likewise depended upon the energy of young men, who thereby obtained wives and authority. Today, when the young man works for money, this only provides the initial impetus in dynamic situations. Moreover, as Hogbin points out, proximity to a market may make a great difference to the situation. In Busama, which is near the small market town of Lae, older men can earn small sums themselves and this mitigates the challenge of the young men.²

This alteration in income structure again may not necessarily involve a corresponding alteration in the wealth structure of the community. This depends on how far three elements operate:

1. Traditional arrangements for control of income may still be recognized, which secure to the senior members of the community the major handling of what income is obtained. In many Pacific societies, returning plantation labourers hand over to their father or other senior kinsman a considerable portion of their wages. Hogbin notes that among Busama men, on the north coast of New Guinea, it was the usual practice to give to the guardian (father or uncle) about half the wages brought back, about one-quarter to another uncle, and to divide about one-eighth among other members of the community, thus leaving only about one-eighth to the man himself.³ In 1952 Tikopia labourers abroad followed a conventional practice of making up a 'box' for each of their chiefs, with lengths of calico, tools, fish-hooks, etc. Every man of the group contributed to each of these—to the boxes of other chiefs as well as that of his own clan chief—and they amounted to a substantial tribute.
2. New forms of arrangement may still retain the general control by the senior members of the community, or the community interest in the use of the new wealth. A case of this is the collection of funds by Toaripi people (of southern New Guinea) working for wages in Port Moresby, to help finance the purchase and transport of a trading schooner to carry their copra.⁴
3. Competing attractions for the use of income may tend to drain off some of the accumulated income. In some societies the pressure of the demands of young women results in large-scale spending on female consumption goods, which reduce the amounts of money taken back home. Or again,

¹ H. S. Morris, *Report on a Melanau Sago Producing Community in Sarawak* (Col. Research Studies, no. 9), London, 1953, *passim*.

² H. I. Hogbin, *Experiments in Civilization*, London, 1939, p. 166-72 and *op. cit.*; C. S. Belshaw, 'Trends in Motives and Organization in Solomon Islands Agriculture', *Proc. 7th Pacific Science Congress*, 1953, p. 171-89.

³ H. I. Hogbin, *Transformation Scene*, London, 1951. The figures refer to a few years ago, but Dr. Hogbin tells me that the same system certainly still applies.

⁴ Raymond Firth, 'Social Changes in the Western Pacific', *Journal Royal Society of Arts*, 1953, p. 810 f.

if savings banks or savings societies have managed to be established, the accumulation of capital there may mean that the alteration of the wealth structure takes a long time to become visible, or to have its effect on production or consumption.

Other effects of a wage labour system may include a reduction in the independence of women, whose incomes now may be comparatively reduced, or who may have to rely more directly on their menfolk for cash to buy what they want. It may mean also the creation of more vulnerable categories of persons—invalids, old folk, deformed, etc. Since they cannot be enlisted for labour, they are thrown more on the resources of others, especially if there is a reduction in the traditional forms of employment, or if monetary standards tend also to be applied to employment within the society.

COMMODITY PRODUCTION AND TRADE

Wage labour by itself, especially at the rates generally prevailing in Indo-Pacific conditions, does not offer much prospect of building up capital resources on any scale, and of making major developmental changes in the economic and social structure. Commodity production and marketing, on the other hand, offer more scope. If we consider commodity marketing for cash, such as occurs in many parts of the region, we are at once confronted with a different range of magnitudes than for wage labour. The vegetable marketing of the Malay or Bornean peasant woman may bring in only a few cents per day—an income which, however, does allow of independent subsistence by many members of vulnerable social categories, such as widows or divorcees. At the other end of the scale a Malay or Chinese master fisherman or vegetable grower or rubber producer, or a New Guinea or Gazella Peninsula copra producer, may reckon his annual earnings in thousands of dollars or hundreds of pounds. In such areas in the Pacific, at least, a marked change in the size of income has been the concomitant of the transition of many of the people from wage labour to commodity production and marketing.¹

The same general effects on the income and wealth structure, with similar social repercussions, are observable as with wage earnings. But there are certain significant differences.

There is a different kind of risk that has to be taken. Among the economic attractions of plantation labour, for instance, is the regularity of the income. With commodity production the more incalculable elements of drought, flood and pests enter more directly. Again, while fluctuations of raw material prices affect both, they are likely to be more sudden and more severe with the commodity producer than for the labourer, since wages tend to have a distinct lag in response to changes in raw material prices. This tends then to involve a different type of selectivity in the economic process. The entrepreneur in commodity production or marketing tends to emerge as an individual with more distinct economic responsibilities, sharper in perception of economic

¹ An interesting description of the processes involved in Indonesia has been given by J. H. Boeke, *op. cit.*, p. 104-10. C. S. Belshaw has drawn attention to the differences in the proportion between plantation labour and peasant agriculture as a function of the type of market organization available. In the Solomons, where no good price was available for village products, natives preferred to sell their labour to Europeans rather than produce themselves, in contrast to the New Hebrides where the balance was about equal, and to New Caledonia, where few natives worked away from the village (*op. cit.*, p. 181).

advantage, often impatient of claims of his communal obligations. On the other hand, his need for initial capital may make him continue in close relation with others of the community on whom he may draw. And the need for equitable relations with labour may lead him to continue in working association with kinsfolk and others in traditional patterns. There is also the tendency for the general social values of his community to weigh heavily with him, especially if there be added to them additional elements resulting from inter-racial competition or conflict.

Hence there is the common tendency for the entrepreneur in such conditions to operate within a local social milieu. The complex interchange of goods and services involved in the production or marketing scheme until the time when the goods reach the alien buyer takes place in ways which are neither according to the traditional forms, nor according to ordinary Western practice. In the blending of individual and community interest, it may be hard to identify the shares which go to economic functions rather than to persons. As has been often discovered, book-keeping in such circumstances may be a difficult task. Too literal adherence to the rules of accountancy may rob the operations of much of their spontaneity. Yet a good index of the extent to which the advent of a monetary economy has brought with it Western economic notions is the effective accounting system practised, for example by some of the co-operative societies in New Guinea and elsewhere. One of the useful functions of the new entrepreneur, however, is to act as stimulus and example to his fellows.

One of the great problems in this whole field is that of capital formation. While commodity production and marketing offer possibilities of building up considerable wealth, they may also lead to great difficulties. The operation of a monetary system, with access to external consumer's markets, can lead to high rates of expenditure, and to the contraction of debts at a level virtually impossible in a traditional non-monetary system. If there is a depression in the commodity market, then the situation becomes parlous for many producers. In Malaya, in 1934, an inquiry among coconut smallholders showed that they were practically all in debt, at levels of from \$100 to \$1,500 per holding of 10 acres or less in the largest coconut area. The debts were mainly to Chinese and Chettiar money-lenders, contracted in times of high prices, and there was little prospect of their ever being repaid. Indebtedness is of course a great bane of the peasant everywhere, and its effects are if anything increased the more the economy is related to external markets. And since so much of the indebtedness is contracted not for the financing of production, but to meet consumption requirements, there is little opportunity of building up capital thereby, in any general fashion. When individuals enrich themselves by lending, there is little of the 'multiplier' effect produced, in that the loans have a very small income-generating influence. Moreover, the social implications of this type of indebtedness are commonly those of friction and strain in the community.

On the other hand, organizations which both meet the need for capital greater than that which any individual entrepreneur can provide, and yet peg the enterprise to some kind of community interest, have been devised in a number of areas. Among the Maori of New Zealand co-operative organizations are of many years' standing. Some establish the communal title holders of land as incorporated owners of land, and give them the legal right of borrowing funds with which to develop the land in the interest of them all. Under the leadership of the late Sir Apirana Ngata, a former Minister for Maori Affairs, State aid was obtained for these organizations in various ways,

and pastoral and agricultural undertakings of some magnitude have been the result. To meet the needs of these and other tribal enterprises, a new set of men has emerged, the business managers, who can lay down policy and administer affairs like a Western business man.

Reference to land-holding raises another aspect of this problem. In many of the unsophisticated economic systems there is no free market in land. As the systems become transmuted by the advent of a money economy, a market in land may develop, with relative freedom of transfer, often only with deference to community or kin group approval. In some systems, for instance Tonga, the State early took over all final titles to land, allowing to individuals only very restricted titles, with very limited rights of transfer and transmission. In others, the final titles still lay with specific social groups, but some limitations were placed on transfer, while rights of transmission were regulated by the courts. In such conditions, where the growth of a commodity market gives a fillip to the use of land, changes in the social structure may be stimulated. In the attempt to gain an income from land, either by personal production or by sale or lease, there have been among the Maori of New Zealand and the Cook Islands, for example, an intensified interest in kin ties as giving title to lands; disputes over land, with much litigation in the courts; and a tendency in some cases for departure from traditional customs of land inheritance in favour of testamentary disposition. Apart from this there has in New Zealand been fragmentation of land, and much subsequent consolidation. There are also many landless Maori and some Maori landlords—with European tenants in a number of cases. In less than a century-and-a-half the transition from a simple non-monetary peasant economy to an economy of practically Western type, with commodity markets and markets for labour, greatly increased the differentiation in the status of people and has affected the Maori social system deeply in other ways.

As another example of how a change in market conditions, with expansion of a price economy, can affect social conditions, consider the results of rubber production in Negri Sembilan, in Malaya. Here is a society of relatively small-scale producers, with a strongly matrilineal system of lineage groups and lineage leadership, and with a traditional interest in the cultivation of valley rice. The advent of rubber has made for substantial changes. In summary, they are these. There was of old a distinction between the ancestral lands, the rice plots in the valleys, worked generation after generation, largely by women, and the new lands, cleared from the jungle by men, and retained by them as the product of their labour. The latter they could transmit to their sons, the former were transmitted through their sisters in their own lineage, and through their wives. No man could pass ancestral lands on to his son. In the clearings were grown fruit and vegetables, essentially secondary in economic importance to the staple, rice. Then, less than half a century ago, came the cultivation of rubber. Soon the economic balance of production tended to be upset. It was far more profitable to produce rubber than rice, and some people even turned their rice lands into rubber land. Some of the upland areas were sold or leased to aliens. The lineages, seeing valuable assets tending to pass out of their grasp, often debated the issue whether the rule of control and inheritance of these cleared rubber lands was through females, as in the case of the ancestral lands, or should be through males, especially from father to son. On the whole the tendency has been for the interest of the men to be strengthened in the control of such lands.

Moreover, the more general tendency has been to promote a change in the inheritance system, from matrilineal to patrilineal. This has not been so in the lands classed definitely as ancestral (*tanah pesaka*), but the pressure has tended to become manifested in land of other types, and also other property. In this struggle—for the issue was often keenly, even bitterly fought—powerful support was given to the patrilineal interests by the leaders of Islamic orthodoxy, who were in conflict on other grounds as well with the local *adat* (customary rules). Furthermore, these forces together were in support of, and to some degree assisted by, the interest of the ruler and his kinsfolk, a group of patrilineal descent rules, and opposed in some respect to the matrilineal descent leaders by whom they were surrounded and on whom they had to rely in the body politic as a whole. Though opposition between them was not overt, it was clearly to the interest of the ruler that the power of leaders deriving their status from a customary base alien to his own should be diminished. Thus a simple technological change, represented by the different processes involved in the production of rubber, meant also important changes in the social structure.

Finally, one may characterize the subject in more general terms again. As the influence of a monetary economy grows, there is a tendency for the scale of social relations to widen, as new contacts are formed. On the other hand, there is fragmentation and re-alignment of some social units. Lineage and other kin groups often cease to be effective land-holding units; joint family and allied units tend to break up economically and disperse residentially into simple families. Even the simple, elementary family organization is seen to be vulnerable—changes occur in relations of husband and wife through labour or differential production; there is exaggeration or reversal of the economic differences between generations, and different frames of reference for social experience appear; the authority structure may alter. As the processes continue, new structural arrangements may be formed, with new class alignments and new patterns of leadership. The requirements of new legal norms, and the new ethics of business involve different behavioural sequences. There may be a shift of symbols not only of wealth but also of social status and political authority. At the same time, consciousness of the changes in so many spheres may lead, as in Polynesian societies, to a renewed emphasis on traditional or modified (pseudo-) traditional forms, which are as it were obtruded as evidence of a social solidarity which may in fact be threatened or lost in other fields.

The resultant of all these forces is likely to be an economy and a society not in equilibrium but with conflicts of ends, and conflict about means to secure agreed ends. These processes of social and economic change are not novel. But the diversification of technical skills is growing; technical processes are for the most part apparently irreversible; and the pace of technical advance is increasing. The widening of the gap between the skilled and unskilled, and the growing differences in experience, would seem to suggest that it is not in the realm of shared empirical knowledge and skill that common factors of unity are likely to be found. But to think that the future co-ordinating elements may lie in non-empirical systems of ideas suggests also reliance on fairly short-term solutions.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S VIEWS ON MACHINES AND TECHNOLOGY

D. P. MUKERJI

This paper comes out of the conviction that any study of the social changes brought about by technology should be based primarily on an understanding of the conditions of both the society which introduces technology and the society to which it is introduced. If these conditions are crystallized in two systems of values, one which has accepted, and the other which has not accepted 'technical progress' as desirable or technological advance as 'a self-evident good' (R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, ch. xiii, p. 317); and further, if the strains of technological advance, which any scheme of technological assistance brings in its wake, must be reduced or eliminated so as to render the assistance genuinely effective, then one of the chief concerns of the sociologist as well as of the technical administrator is the discovery of the terms of the normative system of both countries concerned. This does not preclude the various types of specific researches on the social effects of technological change; on the contrary, the normative study may be fortified by their scientific conclusions. What is stressed here is the methodological issue. For example, with regard to the impact of machines or technology (associated with Western Europe) on Asian countries (believed to belong to a pre-technical stage) the underlying assumption that technological advance is a 'self-evident good' should be brought to the surface so as to clear the way for the comparative normative approach. It is heartening to know that eminent Western sociologists have recognized the importance of this approach.

But it is disheartening that no formulation of the Eastern value-system has been made by an Eastern sociologist. One reason for this may be that Eastern people are still too deeply involved in their system and, therefore, the technological impact on their basic values is as yet superficial. Another reason may be that those who could formulate and compare the value-systems are the very people who believe in technical advance as a 'self-evident good' and, therefore, do not worry about the problem beyond the stage of annoyance with temporary maladjustments which, in their view, a welfare state, or a similar agency or agencies, would benevolently remove sooner or later. Certain economic interests in India, in particular, also seem to be far too committed to technological advance to be anxious to study the conflict of value-systems involved in the resultant strain. Though one hears about cottage industries and their place in Indian life and notices earnest administrative encouragements, the importance attached to them seems to be mainly on the score of their being able to provide 'some' employment to those who are being thrown out of 'employment' by technological advance. Gandhiji, however, was deeply and primarily concerned with the value-systems. There were others too, but they are less known. Gandhiji put his views very sharply indeed. One may not like his manner of posing the problem, one may consider it as partial, one may dismiss it, if one chooses, as many 'educated' men and industrialists of India have chosen. But his statements remain a challenge to the entire problem of technological change and schemes of technical assistance. They should be taken seriously because many new disturbing features of Indian life cannot

be explained or removed otherwise. From them one might also infer that the term 'underdeveloped economy', which is the excuse of technical assistance, was inappropriate insofar as it confused the co-existence of two different value-systems by placing them on the assembly-line' of historical development in which economic growth, being the supreme value, was subservient to and dependent only upon technological advance. Perhaps, Gandhiji was unfair to the European civilization; it may also be that he did not subscribe to the unilinear concept of history. But it is certain that he had other values and his understanding of India, at least, was unerring. We Indians love to think that Gandhiji's views correctly represent the unformulated values of the vast majority of the Indian population towards social changes. They, as he would say, would welcome change on their own human terms.

Let us know exactly what he said in regard to machines and when. (He never used the word 'technology', but it is clear that he meant it.) Much misunderstanding of his position prevails everywhere. But he did not want to be misunderstood; in fact, the very clarity of his style leaves no room for misunderstanding. The first unequivocal statement of his position occurs in *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule*, written originally in Gujarati, on the return voyage from London to South Africa in 1908 'in answer to the Indian school of violence and its prototype in South Africa'. It was first published in the columns of *Indian Opinion of South Africa*, in the form of the editor's answers to readers' queries. In this period Gandhiji was finding himself through many a personal and a few social experiments. Violence had become the desperate creed of Indian nationalists. He was analysing this creed all the time, digging its base, so to say, and reaching towards an alternative moral creed. *Hind Swaraj* was the first formulation and bears all the marks of religious conversion. The subsequent history of the book is interesting, but not quite relevant here. But it is on record that in January 1921 Gandhiji would 'withdraw nothing except one word of it, and that in deference to a lady friend'. As Mahadev Desai wrote in his preface to the 1938 edition, 'Even in 1938 he would alter nothing in the book, except perhaps the language in some parts'. We will see, however, that certain alterations were made, but they were more in the nature of elaboration in terms of reality, e.g., the relative unpreparedness of Indian people for the practice of 'a higher simplicity and renunciation', which he knew to be India's values, than as deviations from a fundamental position.

His writings show (letter to a friend quoted in *Mahatma*, vol. 1, p. 129-30) that his opposition to England or to the Western or even the European civilization was not merely on the limited ground of political and economic subjection, but on the much wider issue of the conflict between the values of different civilizations. *Hind Swaraj* discusses this issue with eloquence and poses the conflict between Indian values and Western values in pure white and pure black. Many historians and sociologists would be more cautious about India's ancestry, about her deliberate wisdom in rejecting machinery, city-life and the evils thereof. They would question the latent virtuous assumptions about India's past and her society. They would attribute them mostly to lack of opportunities and the incurable human habit of making a virtue of necessity. Nor would they fail to detect a high order of spiritual values in the Western, European, or modern civilization and a low order of social values prevailing in the East, in India old and new. But here at last was the Indian positing of a felt contrast in the fierce clarity of exaggeration. The exaggeration was similar to that of a rebel slave who would assert with vehemence his own

human dignity and clothe it in historical terms. At the same time, it was not a metaphysical rebellion, so typical of India and the East. It was not a protest against the universal condition of man whose life is interrupted by disease old age, or death, as was that of Buddha. It was essentially a moral rebellion, couched in the social terms of civilization, which Gandhiji defined as good conduct with the entire weight on performance of duty and observance of morality. The supreme duty was to attain mastery over mind and passions in the performance of which we know ourselves, that is, knowledge accrues. The performance implied proper use of hands and feet and the process led to the limitation of indulgences, reduction of wants, and simplification of life. All these ideas formed a whole pattern of thought, beliefs, attitude and action which placed Indian civilization in sharp opposition to what he sometimes called the Western, at other times the European, but what was really modern civilization centred on material values.

Let us follow the development of Gandhiji's ideas. In October 1924, soon after he had broken one of his famous fasts, he gave an interview to a student from Santiniketan, Sir Ramchandran, who questioned him on his views on the place of Art in national regeneration and on machinery. Ramchandran asked (*Mahatma*, vol. 2, p. 212).

R. 'Are you against all machinery?'

G. 'How can I be when I know that even this body is a delicate piece of machinery? The spinning wheel itself is a machine; a little tooth-pick is a machine. What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. The craze is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work and thrown on the streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind, but for all. I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few, but in the hands of all. Today machinery helps a few to ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. It is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might.'

R. 'Then you are fighting not against machinery as such, but against its abuses, which are so much in evidence today?'

G. 'I would unhesitatingly say yes; but I would add that scientific truths and discoveries should first cease to be mere instruments of greed. Then labourers will not be overworked and machinery instead of becoming a hindrance will be a help. I am aiming not at eradication of all machinery, but limitation.'

R. 'When logically argued out, that would imply that all complicated power-driven machinery should go.'

G. 'It might have to go, but I must make one thing clear. The supreme consideration is man. The machine should not tend to keep atrophied the limbs of man. For instance, I would make intelligent exceptions. Take the case of the Singer Sewing Machine.'

R. 'But, in that case, there would have to be a factory for making these Singer Sewing Machines, and it would have to contain power-driven machinery of ordinary type.'

G. 'Yes, surely. But I am Socialist enough to say that such factories should be nationalized or state-controlled. They ought only to be working under the most attractive and ideal conditions, not for profit, but for the benefit of humanity, love taking on the place of greed as the motive. It is an alteration

in the conditions of labour that I want. This mad rush for wealth must cease and the labourer must be assured not only of a living wage but a daily task that is not a mere drudgery. The machine will, under these conditions, be as much a help to the man working it as to the state, or the man who owns it. The present mad rush will cease and the labourer will work, as I have said, under attractive and ideal conditions. This is but one of the exceptions I have in mind. The sewing machine had love at its back. The individual is the one supreme consideration. The saving of labour of the individual should be the object and honest humanitarian considerations, and not greed the motive. . . . Therefore, replace greed by love and everything will come right.'

Next morning the interview was continued. Ramchandran persisted:

R. 'If you make an exception of the Singer Sewing Machine and your spindle, where would these exceptions end?'

G. 'Just where they cease to help the individual and encroach upon his individuality. The machine should not be allowed to cripple the limbs of man.'

R. 'But I was not thinking just now of the practical side. Ideally would you not rule out all machinery? When you except the sewing machine, you will have to make exceptions of the bicycle, the motor-car, etc.'

G. 'No, I don't, because they do not satisfy any of the primary wants of man; . . . Ideally, however, I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject this very body, which is not helpful to salvation and seek the absolute liberation of the soul. From that point of view, I would reject all machinery, but machines will remain because, like the body, they are inevitable. The body itself, as I told you, is the *purest piece* of mechanism; but if it is a hindrance to the highest flights of the soul, it has to be rejected.'

The quotation is important from many points of view. The views expressed in 1924 seem to mark a departure from those of 1908. Gandhiji was a realist in the best sense of the term. The seeds that had been sown in the *Hind Swaraj* grew into a plant in the upturned soil of India. Gandhiji had started the non-co-operation movement and the Khilafat movement, but he realized that the people of India were not yet ripe for the supreme renunciation his values demanded. Non-violence and Truth could not be the bread of the masses. That was the bitter lesson of Chauri-Chaura (1922). The masses wanted bread, and for them 'God was bread and bread was God'. A terrible famine raged in Orissa, and it haunted his dreams. In various cities of India strikes occurred; and their lesson was not lost on him. His sense of limits, a gift which every moral genius must possess, came into play. And in that process he realized a few historical truths. It was clear to him that the impetus behind the large-scale use of machinery was profit or 'greed'—which was 'in the constitution of things' as they were, and not philanthropy or love, that 'today machinery helps a few to ride on the backs of millions', that the labourer must get a living wage and a secure daily task and his labour should not be drudgery, and above all, that man, that is, the labourer was the supreme consideration. In Gandhiji's view man was the producer, the bread-worker by hand, an idea which he had imbibed early in his career in South Africa from Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, which he had translated as *Sarvodaya*. Gandhiji, be it underlined, would have nationalized or state-controlled factories of power-driven machinery to control the profit and produce for 'the benefit of humanity', love taking the place of greed as the motive. At this point

Gandhiji presumably believed that the State was, and would be, an agency for transforming greed into a love for humanity, though elsewhere he was less hopeful. All this appears to be a move away from the uncompromising position taken up in the *Hind Swaraj*. Be that as it may, it was not a sacrifice of his basic, or he called it, the 'ideal' position. 'Ideally, however, I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject this very body (the purest piece of machinery) which is not helpful to salvation and seek the absolute liberation of the soul.' This idea of salvation and absolute liberation from the body is, in my view, the key-note of Gandhian values, or Indian values, as Gandhiji and many others would interpret them. In short, Gandhiji would have welcomed the 'natural destruction' of machinery and mills, together with law-courts, railways and hospitals, but not a violent destruction. By 'natural' he appeared to have meant the potential nature of the scholastics—the nature that sprang from love, purity, simplicity, and flowered in fulfilment and renunciation. His exceptions arose from the 'actual' nature of man in India, his unpreparedness. (*Young India*. January, 1921. 'A Word of Explanation'.) Truly could Gandhi say: 'Ripeness is all.'

These values, it is obvious, centred in renunciation and non-possession. The Hindu idea of renunciation is not *vairagya*, which is probably a Buddhist concept incorporated into Hinduism. Renunciation in the Hindu sense is *aparigraha* (non-possession) of the Geeta, as Acharaya Vinoba has pointed out more than once in the pages of the *Harjan* (10 April 1949). The concept of love, or altruism, the good of all, as opposed to the hedonistic calculus of the greatest good of the greatest number (*Autobiography*, part iv, ch. viii; *Young India*, 9 December 1926), was probably a mixture of Vaishnava, Christian and later Buddhist ideas. Whatever its origins, it worked very well indeed, particularly as a means of propagation of Gandhiji's ideas among the masses. In other words, the 'ideal' pattern of Hindu values was never forsaken by Gandhiji. It was woven round 'wantlessness'. How could technology and machines geared to the production of goods for the satisfaction of wants, which created more wants, joint wants, derived wants, the infinite hyperbola of wants, be consonant with the pattern of Indian norms? How could such norms square for that matter, with Economics, grounded as it was on wants and their satisfaction? If absolute liberation of the soul from the body be the utter sum of existence, then Gandhiji, and with him, every Hindu who was aware of his ancestry, would raise the eternal query: Why this craze for machinery? Why machine-civilization at all? Other problems such as machines helping a few to ride on the back of millions, the concentration of power and wealth, of justice for the labourer as man, securing attractive conditions of life for him and of giving him security of employment, etc. etc. would be subsidiary. These latter, in Gandhiji's opinion, ultimately hinged upon non-possession, *aparigraha*, wantlessness, subordination of body and bodily wants to the need of the soul's liberation from its physical encasement, which was *the end*.

These subsidiary problems, however, were far from socially insignificant. In the Gandhian view of life, they were related to the means. To many 'educated' Indians they were the ends, or the primary values. Gandhiji had many opportunities of discussing them with those who were more sensitive to the needs and ideas of the day. Rabindranath Tagore's objection was of a different type, but it was met by the logic of means. The poet had written in 1925 against the charkha (the spinning wheel), because he felt that it would bring

about a deathlike sameness in the nation. Gandhiji met this argument on the highest level. Taking his cue from the Hindu philosophical conception of oneness, identity, or sameness, which Sankar had carried to its logical extreme, Gandhiji held that 'behind a variety of occupations there is an indispensable sameness also of occupation'. After inveighing for a while against exploitation both by European and Indian manufacturers, Gandhiji conceded: 'Machinery has its place; it has come to stay, But it must not be allowed to displace the necessary human labour. An important plough is a good thing. But if by some chance one man could plough up by some mechanical invention of his the whole of the land of India and control all the agricultural produce and if the millions had no other occupation, they would starve, and being idle, they would become dunces, as many have already become. There is hourly danger of many more being reduced to that unenviable state. I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine but I know that it is criminal to displace the hand labour by the introduction of power-driven spindles unless one is at the same time ready to give millions of farmers some other occupation in their homes.' (*Young India*, 5 Nov. 1925; *Mahatma*, vol. 2, p. 283.) Here was argument on the purely economic level of means, that is, of employment and unemployment (Also, vol. 4, 34, p. 238-9.) To a modern Western economist it may appear to be old-fashioned. He thinks that he has devised excellent measures against various types of unemployment, cyclical, structural, frictional, seasonal, and all that, and he is not worried if even under full employment two to five per cent are unemployed. But Gandhiji was not to be deluded by such theories and measures emerging out of the practices of countries that had been wedded to industrial and technical civilization, that had colonies to exploit and accepted competitive values in production, trade and commerce. The essence of Gandhiji's concession in this open letter to Tagore is, however, historical. That is to say, so long as 'some other occupation in their homes' was not available—and it was not likely to be available in that historical context, or in the near future, because imperialist exploitation would not allow India to create alternative occupations—Gandhiji would stick to the spinning wheel and be against the displacement of labour by machinery. In other words, India in her present context should have labour-intensive economy for the sake of full employment.

Gandhiji was very respectful towards Tagore, and as we have seen met the poet's cultural charge with economic arguments. But he was not so soft towards the Indian Communist M. P. Mr. Saklatwala, in his reply to the latter's appeal, which he duly published in *Young India*. The differences with Tagore were not vital, but with Mr. Saklatwala they were. Gandhiji wrote in *Young India* under the caption 'No and Yes':

'His facts are fiction and his deductions based upon fiction are necessarily baseless. And where these are true, my whole energy is concentrated upon nullifying their, to me, poisonous results. I am sorry, but we do stand at opposite poles. There is, however, one great thing common between us. Both claim to have the good of the country and humanity as our only goal. Though we may for the moment seem to be going in opposite directions, I expect we shall meet some day. I promise to make amends when I discover my error. Meanwhile, my error, since I do not recognize it as such, must be my child and my solace.'

Having said this in true humility—and there is not the slightest reason to doubt it—Gandhiji reveals himself in the full panoply of his original, uncompromising, absolute, non-historical faith. He wrote:

'For unlike Saklatwala, I do not believe that multiplication of wants and machinery contrived to supply them is taking the world a single step nearer its goal. Comrade Saklatwala swears by the modern rush. I whole-heartedly detest this mad desire to destroy distance and time, to increase animal appetites and go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction. If modern civilization stands for all this, and I have understood it to do so, I call it satanic and with it the present system of government, its best exponent.'

Then follow some sentences which would remind one of the wrath of prophets, but with a difference. 'I would destroy that system today, if I had the power. I would use the most deadly weapons, if I believed that they would destroy it. I refrain only because the use of such weapons could only perpetuate the system though it may destroy its present administration. Those, who seek to destroy men rather than their manners, adopt the latter and become worse than those whom they destroy under the mistaken belief that the manners will die with the men. They do not know the root of the evil.'

The last paragraph seems to retain its pertinence today in spheres wider than the Indian. The points to be noticed in Gandhiji's reply to Saklatwala's appeal are Gandhiji's firm faith in wantlessness as a cardinal human virtue, and his objection only to the 'modern rush', in which he included both the Western and the Indian values of the day. We may further note his association of modernism with the British Government in India. Strictly from the point of view of the propagation of an unswerving faith, this mixture of basic values with nationalism was excellent. A sociologist would not cavil at it. Technological values are usually associated with the nationalist values, particularly in the Eastern countries in the period of their anti-imperialist struggle which centres in their opposition to the obstacles that imperialism places in their economic growth, and also in the period of economic advance which is held to be possible only with the help of technology. But it is equally understandable that nationalist, anti-subjectionist motives and attitudes should be integrated with the basic values which are, or are interpreted to be, specific to the culture of the nation. While it is true that in this extract no reference is made to the Indian-ness of the objection to the modern rush and the argument appears to rest on the personal level, it is apparent, as it certainly was to the Indian of 1925, that it was a typically Indian argument securely grounded on the Indian philosophy of life, *aparigraha*, non-possession, enjoyment through giving away, *tyaktena bhunjitha*.

We must repeat that Gandhiji collected other arguments round this basic objection to machines. They were mainly what we would call sociological arguments on the score of excessive population on land, of idle labour, of bad distribution of wealth, benefit to the nation, that is to say, the welfare of the people. He referred to unemployment again and again, to bad health, unwholesome food, and to the decay of art. He categorically stated that labour had a unique place in swaraj, or independence, and formed its content. Each argument depended on another and the whole formed a pattern of positive values. In 1935, on 23 April, he said after opening the first All-India Village Industries Exhibition at Indore: 'The reason why our average life-rate is deplorably low, the reason why we are getting more and more impoverished is that we have neglected our 100,000 villages. We have indeed thought of them, but only to the extent of exploiting them. We read thrilling accounts of the "glory that was Ind", of the land that was flowing with milk and honey; but today it is a land of starving millions. We are sitting in this

fine pandal under a blaze of electric lights, but we do not know that we are burning these lights at the expense of the poor. We have no right to use the lights if we forget that we owe these to them.' Gandhiji would seldom forget to remind his audience of their responsibility towards the people. The word 'owe these to them' is an English rendering of the Hindu concept of *rina* or debts, contracted by every individual at his birth to his ancestors, his gods, sages, and to nature, the universe or society, debts which must be duly discharged in the course of existence. Hindu social organization is built on the principle of obligations which Gandhiji insisted on resuscitating in all social and economic spheres of activity, *vide* his concept of rich men holding their riches in trusteeship for the poor. Only in the sphere of political struggle against foreign rule would he allow the exercise of the Western sense of rights, and these too hedged in by the sense of social obligations, which was one vital significance of non-violence. Gandhiji continued: 'There is a difference between the civilization of the East—the civilization of India—and that of the West.'

Formerly he had contrasted only the modern civilization with the earlier, pre-technical one and minimized, if not ignored this distinction between the East and the West. However, this again is not quite a shift in position; in fact, he was also speaking to the West. And he was only referring to the defects of the tendencies of the Western civilization, and not to its inherent nature, as Mahadev Desai pointed out in his preface to the 1938 edition of *Hind Swaraj*:

'It is not generally realized wherein the difference lies. Our geography is different, our history is different, our ways of life are different. Our continent, though vast is a speck on the globe, but it is the most thickly populated, barring China. Well, the economics and the civilization of a country where the pressure of population on land is greatest (the conjunction "and" should not be made much of), are and must be different from those of a country where the pressure is the least. Sparsely populated America may have need of the machinery. India may not need it at all. When there are millions upon millions of units of idle labour, it is no use thinking of labour-saving devices. . . . The reason of our poverty is the extinction of [cottage] industries, and our consequent unemployment.'

There follow certain figures about the increasing dependence on land as a result of the destruction of cottage industries and the loss of health through the elimination of vitamins in grain after being ground in machines. Gandhiji's context was the first exhibition of Village Industries, which he was building up as the base of his constructive programme. He was an anti-machinist with a purpose, and the language of his argument was suitable to the masses hearing him.

Gandhiji seemed to have been perpetually alive to this problem of unemployment. On 22 October 1937 he inaugurated the Educational Conference at Wardha and developed his ideas of education through handicrafts. It was a new setting for his constructive programme—an integration of living in love, with efficiency and independence, without exploitation, conflict and poverty, and with education of the body and mind. In expounding his thesis, he said:

'Then, take the question of machinery. I think that machinery is not necessary for us at all. We should use khadi (home-spun cloth); and, therefore, we do not require mills. We should try to produce all the necessary cloth in villages, and we need not be the slaves of machines. I am afraid, by working

with machines we have become machines ourselves, having lost all sense of art and handwork. If you still think that we cannot do without machines, the scheme (of new education) I have placed before you will be futile. You wish to keep our village alive by means of machines and think of imparting education to the village children through them. Machines will only help in making all the thirty-five crores of people unemployed. If you think that machines are really indispensable, you must reject the scheme and suggest a new one.' (*Mahatma*, vol. 4, p. 238-9.)

In 1946 India was passing through a severe food crisis. Gandhiji offered advice to those who sought it. There were suggestions and counter-suggestions. Even in those dire days he would not move from his fundamental ground. In one of his replies he said:

'I regard the existence of power wheels for the grinding of corn in thousands of villages as the limit of our helplessness. I suppose India does not produce all the engines and grinding machines. . . . The planting of such machinery and engines on a large scale in villages (a suggestion made by a correspondent for resolving the food crisis) is also a sign of greed. Is it proper to fill one's pockets in this manner at the expense of the poor? Every such machinery puts thousands of hand *chakkis* (grindstones for corn) out of work, and takes away employment from thousands of housewives and artisans who make these *chakkis*. Moreover, the process is infective and spreads to every village industry. The decay of the latter spells too the decay of art. If it meant the replacement of the old crafts by the new ones, one might not have much to say against it. But this is not what is happening. In the thousands of villages, where power-machinery exists, one misses the sweet music in the early morning of the grinders at work. But to come to the main point. Whilst I hold that these power engines are, at present, being put to wrong use, it would be some compensation if these engines, in addition to their present use, were also used to pump water out of the rivers, tanks and wells for irrigation.' (*Mahatma*, vol. 7, p. 71-2.)

Probably the most comprehensive and yet succinct account of the place of machinery in the context of Independence was written by Gandhiji in the *Harijan* of 15 July 1946. It was a clarification for the benefit of Congressmen of his concept of independence. He painted a glorious picture of self-sufficient villages, giving free and voluntary play to mutual forces, highly cultured in the sense that there every man and woman knows what he or she wants and, what is more, knows that no one should want anything that the others cannot have with equal labour, a society based on the living force of truth and non-violence, a society not like a pyramid but like 'an oceanic circle'.¹

On 31 July 1946 Gandhiji addressed a conference of Ministers of Industries of different states in Poona. There he clarified his conception of village industries and referred to the imbalance between town and village economies and the need for establishing justice in their relation. In that connexion he came to a fairly elaborate explanation of what he meant by machines. Sir

¹ 'I may be taunted with the retort that this is all Utopian and, therefore, not worth a single thought. If Euclid's point, though incapable of being drawn by any human agency, has an imperishable value, my picture has its own for mankind to live. Let India live for this true picture, though never realizable in its completeness. . . . In it, there is no room for machines that would displace human labour and that would concentrate power in a few hands. Labour has its unique place in a cultured human family. Every machine that helps every individual has a place. But I must confess that I have never sat down to think out what that machine can be. I have thought of Singer's Sewing Machine. But even that is perfunctory. I do not need it to fill in my picture.' (*Mahatma*, vol. 7, p. 201-2.)

D. G. Tendulkar, the author of *Mahatma*, gives the following summary: "Ours has been described as the machine age," remarked Gandhi, "because the machine dominates our economy. What is a machine? One may ask. In a sense, man is the most wonderful machine in creation. It can neither be duplicated nor copied." He had, however, used the word not in its wider sense, but in the sense of an appliance that tended to displace the human or animal labour instead of supplementing it, or merely to increase its efficiency. That was the first differential characteristic of the machine. The second characteristic was that there was no limit to its growth or evolution. That could not be said of the human labour. There was a limit beyond which its capacity or mechanical efficiency could not go. Out of this circumstance arose the third characteristic of the machine. It seemed to be possessed of a will or genius of its own. Machine was antagonistic to man's labour. Thus, it tended more to displace man, one machine doing the work of a hundred, if not a thousand, who went to swell the army of unemployed and underemployed, not because that was desirable, but because that was its law. In America it had perhaps reached the extreme limit. He had been opposed to it not from today, but even before 1909, when he was in South Africa surrounded by machines. Their onward march had not only impressed him, but had repelled him.

"It then dawned upon me that to suppress and exploit the millions, the machine was the device par excellence; it had no place in man's economy if, as social units, all men were to be equal. It is my belief that machine has not added to man's stature and it will not serve the world, but disrupt it, unless it is put in its proper place. Then I read Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. . . . I saw clearly that if mankind was to progress and to realize the idea of equality and brotherhood, it must act on the principle of *Unto This Last*."

'In the machine age, this principle had no place. Under it the fittest alone survived, to the exclusion and at the cost of the weak. "But that is not my picture of independence, in which there is room even for the weakest", observed Gandhiji. "That requires that we must realize all available human labour, before we entertain the idea of employing mechanical power.'" (*Mahatma*, vol. 17, p. 214-15.)

We have traced the development of Gandhiji's ideas on machines, and on machine-civilization and found that despite many concessions to the 'proper' use of machines his values were definitely opposed to those which make for technological civilization and are made by it. By 'proper' he meant, positively, that which was prompted by love and good for humanity, and negatively, what did not lead to concentration of wealth in a few hands and inequality, to centralization of power, to urbanization, to unemployment, to political, enconomic and social exploitation. These evils, which in his view, were the characteristics of the modern society, with its American apogee, were the consequences of the large scale use of machines, and they had to be fought with vigour. To that extent he was placing Indian (Eastern) against Western (Euro-American, modern) values. It was certainly not a case of revivalism, but a clear statement of a principle of social organization which was different from the one that had succeeded in imposing itself on the strength of political suzerainty. His minimal idea was to establish co-existence of different social systems, on the basis of equality, though the prophetic strain that came to him in the course of his experiments with Truth led him to think that the

values he propagated would also be good for the Western world. We will leave it to the Western sociologist to ponder over this issue. An Indian sociologist can only mention that Gandhiji's protagonism of Indian values was not a manifestation of the romantic agony of nationalist historians, nor was it a reactionary, obscurantist throw-back. It is submitted here that he was a revolutionary and what a revolutionary in India should be, viz., an Indian revolutionary, that is, one who would first be steeped in Indian realities and then evaluate the nature of changes in social realities in order to create fresh norms. Gandhiji did not go to the past: in fact, he was not an Indologist; he only went to the roots and the sources. And 'the deeper you go to the root the more radical you become'.

At this stage it will be relevant to note the revolutionary elements in his views. Their importance arises from the problem before us, that we here must consider the conditions under which technological change can take place without causing the various tensions and frustrations which bring about aggression, violence, and war, which lead to mental unhealth.

In other words, we must ask ourselves whether technology cannot but generate these evils; whether technology should always depend upon wants and their increase and bring about a state of culture in which material wants are king. The inner significance of Gandhiji's concessions to the use of machines, that is to say, the logical meaning of the term 'proper' use, is that they do not, and need not, go together. It is perfectly possible, in Gandhiji's opinion; and it is also logical to assume under stated conditions, that technology can be introduced into India without upsetting the Indian pattern of values. These conditions are non-possession, *aparigraha*, the 'oceanic' constitution of Indian independence in terms of self-sufficient villages with their group-existence fulfilled through the panchayats, bread-labour, *sharir-srama*, with its concomitant of the dignity of labour symbolized in *khadi*, *sarvodaya*, that is, total awakening or uplift, and of course, non-violence and Truth, that is *satyagraha*. Of these, *aparigraha*, non-possession, or wantlessness and *srama* or labour, alone are selected for discussion. (Gandhiji would have emphasized Truth.) Now, non-possession in the context of human history has been an individual value, and at best, a value for the elite-group, known as the Brahmin caste, to be perpetually practised by it. Others practised it, but the Brahmin was the specialist. Gandhiji would institutionalize it in the State which would own, and not possess for greed or profit. To this extent he was a Socialist—or even a Communist as he called himself before Mr. Louis Fischer (*Mahatma*, vol 7, p. 190), but with this difference that his Socialism did not grow out of industrial civilization, technological values, class-conflict, or according to the operations of the laws of dialectics. (That it could only be social expression of Truth, non-violence and faith in God, is important, but not relevant to our selected purpose.) It was to grow out of agriculture, cottage industries, and 'oceanic' rural organization, into a non-possessive State which would be wedded to public good and be a guarantee of non-exploitation by large machinery in the hands of the rich. Meanwhile, Gandhiji would ask the rich and the fortunate few to hold their fortunes in trusteeship, practising *aparigraha* themselves. Trusteeship, however, for Gandhiji, was an interim measure sanctioned by Indian traditions.

A second revolutionary element in Gandhiji's prescription is the concept of *srama* or manual work. So far as this writer knows *srama*, or the value of the dignity of labour, was not quite an Indian value. In a hierarchical society,

types of work are defined and relegated to different strata on the two assumptions: that spiritual 'work', that is, pure contemplation, is the highest type; that each stratum, or caste, which is fixed by birth, has its own *swadharma* ('bond', 'religion') the practice of which means fulfilment of personality, and the departure of which means 'destruction' of self. But Gandhiji had a different conception of labour. He writes (from *Yeravada Mandir*, ch. IX):

'The law, that to live man must work, first came home to me upon reading Tolstoy's writing on bread-labour. But even before that I had begun to pay homage to it after reading Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. The divine law that man must earn his bread by labouring with his own hands, was first stressed by a Russian writer named T. M. Boudaref. Tolstoy advertised it and gave it wider publicity. In my view, the same principle has been set forth in the third chapter of the Gita, where we are told that he who eats without offering sacrifice eats stolen food. Sacrifice here can only mean bread-labour. There is a world-wide conflict between capital and labour, and the poor envy the rich. If all worked for their bread, distinctions of rank would be obliterated; the rich would still be there, but they would deem themselves only trustees of their property, and would use it mainly in the public interest. The ideal body-labour is agriculture, but the next best would be spinning, weaving, carpentry and smithery; and the logical, common body-labour is scavenging. . . .'

Surely, this is not Indian value. The dissociation of bodily labour from mental and spiritual labour has had a long history, which Gandhiji did not take into account. His attitude towards what is known as the caste-system cannot be discussed here. But on the matter of bread-labour bringing about economic equality he was anti-caste and, therefore, a revolutionary—almost a Socialist. In other words, if the Socialist gave up the usual Western assumption, i.e. no high technology, no Socialism, and remained content with the use of certain special types of machinery which would not displace labour or exploit human beings for greed or concentrate power, then Gandhiji would bless him. If further, the Socialist accepted this idea of bread-labour and built on the revolutionary content of this view, the ending of the separation of physical labour—now the only duty of a whole class of people who form the majority—from mental labour which is now the monopoly of the few, then the difference between him and Gandhiji would not exist, except in the matter of wantlessness. One could argue here that there was a danger in this concept of bread-labour, that it involved the possibility of lowering the impulse and the level of intellectual work by making the intellectual workers work physically for bread without raising the intellectual level and stimulating the impulse of physical workers. But Gandhiji would reply that this could be averted.

Thus the Gandhian conclusion in regard to machines and technology is logical if one accepts the postulates that India has a separate norm of values—with the hidden assumption that values determine conduct—that she has a separate principle of social organization which would be disturbed and even destroyed by large-scale use of machinery for greed and profit, and that a proper use would presuppose certain attitudes, some traditional and others not, but all working in alliance, and also a type of State that would own and control large machineries, if they were indispensable for defined purposes. Otherwise, the machineries to be used would be of a special type suitable for removing the drudgery of handicraft and improving its quality, if possible. They would operate in the general context of de-centralized economy, in close

alliance with agriculture. Gandhiji would thus remove the stings of Capitalism and Socialism alike.

In this author's opinion, Gandhiji's views have to be carefully studied before any scheme of technical assistance and large-scale technological development is initiated. While it is very true that among certain strata and sections of the Indian people these views appear strange, even though lip-service is paid to them, and that such people would want to initiate rapid technological change in the name of economic advance, evolution and progress, it is also clear that an unintelligent injection of technology would so disturb the existing social pattern of human relations that work would cease to be associated with joy and workmanship, that skill would be replaced by efficiency, that 'the public identity of the job' would be lost, that scientific management and discipline would squeeze the labourer of all humaneness, and that a new instrument of social power would 'teach docility' or 'break the intransigence of workers', all the time keeping greed, profit and more profit in the background, beyond the sight of those who are to be immediately benefited by higher wages, better conditions of living, welfare-measures and the like (*Social Theory and Social Structure*, R. K. Merton, p. 318-22).

In other words, the sociologist would do well to study the sociology of the demand for technology in India and the sociology of its supply. Fortunately, the Indian masses are not yet fully taken in by the technological values. They are being acted upon by technology, and they are showing healthy, normal reactions to the injection by absenteeism, inattentiveness, a sort of lackadaisical attitude towards work in the factories, unpunctuality, the so-called absence of pride in work and workmanship, but unfortunately, quite often in accidents and ill-health. Even strikes, which are bemoaned as symptoms of industrial conflict, can be traced to the search of the soil-bound peasantry of India for mental and social peace in holiday, away from the scene of work, the din of factories and technology, to the villages where the pattern which they know and instinctively feel to be right, rules even today.

An Indian sociologist cannot thus help questioning the manner and the possible hidden motivations of a technological advance, of those who want it and those who supply it. He can, at least, categorically state, with Gandhiji, that if change is inevitable, let it come in the shape of certain types of machines, at the proper time, in the proper context; and that if large-scale use of machinery is unavoidable, let it be owned and managed by the State, a new form of State. Judging from experience, he cannot share Gandhiji's hope of an interim trusteeship by the fortunate few. In short, the whole problem of technological advance in India, which, let it be repeated, is undeveloped only in the purely technological sense, and, therefore, in the sense of being more socially integrated and less fragmentized, has to be studied from the points of view of both the types of machinery to be introduced and of the types of people who would accept them with due regard to the motivations of introduction. In India, human beings are not yet atomistic, so that no functional specification in the most common productive processes, which are those of agriculture, is possible. Nor has it occurred in many industries. In India, no productive section of society is 'universalistic', that is, only very few 'criteria possibly present in any segment of the population without regard to previous social relationships or membership in irrelevant groups' are available. In India, human relations are affective rather than rational and impersonal. The normative system suitable for the industrial mode of production through

large-scale use of machines is thus not the normative system of India. A matter of additional importance is the fact that this normative system has combined with nationalism, anti-imperialism, and Gandhiji's interpretation of independence to convince some people that it is still valuable. So change must take account of these facts in order not to produce the same evils to which the West has been an heir.¹

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA AND IN UGANDA' A CONTRAST

J. H. BOEKE

Since 1870 Western entrepreneurs have had ample opportunity to invest and exploit their capital in Indonesia. The extent to which they have availed themselves of this opportunity—especially after the beginning of the twentieth century—has since then completely determined the economic development of the colony. As early as 1827 the highest authorities in the Netherlands Indian Government had strongly advocated this policy which they described as 'colonization by capital'. Their main argument was that the Western enterprises should be a convincing example to the population of the opportunities for profit afforded by market and export crops, an example all the more indispensable because without it the Javanese farmer could not be weaned from his traditional rice culture and subsistence economy.

His Majesty's Government in the Netherlands recognized the validity of this argument and shared the expectations of its promoters. But it considered inopportune any long-range policy which would not in the near future provide the profits which the mother country and the king needed urgently. For this reason King William I preferred another scheme that had been put before him, according to which the native rural population of Java should be compelled to grow, by order of the Netherlands Indian Government, certain profitable or at least promising export crops such as, for instance, indigo, sugar-cane and coffee. They were to use either their own fields or waste lands allocated for that purpose, and the produce had to be sold for the benefit of the mother country. This was the well-known culture system which from 1830 on, dominated Java, in particular. For sugar-cane cultivation, it lasted almost to the end of the nineteenth century and, for the other important forced crop, coffee, even till 1915, although the end came almost unnoticed, the system having collapsed decades earlier.

¹ Most of the quotations from Gandhiji's writings have been taken from D. G. Tendulkar's monumental biography *Mahatma*, seven volumes of which only are available at the time of writing, the eighth being in print. The 1946 edition of Gandhiji's *Hind Swaraj* has been used here, and the 1951 edition of *Sarvodaya, its Principles and Programme*. Both are published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Gujarat, India. An autobiography: *The Story of My Experiment with Truth*, translated from Gujarati by Mahadev Desai, 1939 edition, Phoenix Press, London, has also been cited.

Under the culture system the Javanese peasant was a forced entrepreneur: he had to bear the risk and perform all the labour, but under such adverse conditions that he conceived a thorough dislike for the compulsory crops and could not be induced, after the termination of the system, to continue of his own free will. In another respect also the culture system was a bad, demoralizing influence. Diverted from his subsistence farming, the peasant had only one aim, to get through his imposed duties with the least trouble and exertion. He worked slowly and carelessly; he neglected and destroyed rather than cultivated—when he was given the chance; he acquired no new skills, merely new vices.

This false conception of his labour obligations, on the part of the farmer subject to forced cultivation, induced the sugar mill owners to extend their activities from cane crushing to cane raising on fields hired from the native owners. Consequently, the part taken by the village people in the production of this important crop shrunk considerably, although it still had a serious effect on all village life. There was in the first place the leasing out of irrigated fields by owners and part-owners, none of whom had land to spare and all of whom therefore in so doing deprived themselves of their main source of subsistence. Secondly, there was wage-labour in the fields as well as in the mill—occasional labour mostly, irregular, unskilled, seasonal at best owing to the seasonal character of the sugar industry itself. For both categories of participants, the lessors of land as well as the occasional labourers, the sole motive of their contact with the sugar mill is and always has been the need to acquire cash to meet their most urgent financial obligations, their taxes above all.

The Western enterprises in Java other than the sugar plantations and the estates in the outer provinces were started without connexion with the culture system and most of them not before the present century. Their beginning meant the realization of the proposals of 1827. For this reason the prediction of their advocates, that private Western estates would prove to be indispensable incitements to the population to raise market and export crops, may be questioned. The answer will be only partly and conditionally affirmative, for reasons which are different in Java and the outer provinces.

In Java the density of the rural population so reduces the field area per farmer that the *more extensive methods* of cultivation become impracticable, whereas when intensive methods are used the increase of production costs jeopardizes the profitability of the market crop. The value of the Western example is recognized by the small native landowners but they find themselves incapable of following it. Moreover, an imitation covering hardly one thousandth of the area of the example and attempted without capital differs so widely from the example as to become an original experiment. These experiments were made but remained exceptions, more often born of emergency than from the conviction that this change to market crops meant profit. In this way native sugar-cane cultivation was undertaken on land which the decrease of irrigation water made useless for the rice crop, and the native tea gardens were originally confined to impoverished land where food crops no longer thrived.

Sometimes, and this also applies to the outer provinces, there was another impediment to the adoption of plantation crop cultivation. When a crop required further important mechanical manipulation of the raw material to make it marketable, the native producer owing to lack of capital, technique

and commercial ability was unable to start his own plant. This put white sugar or palm oil production entirely beyond his means, unless he could obtain the co-operation of a Western manufacturer. But in that case the economic strength of the two parties was so unequal that there was great danger that the interests of the native supplier of raw materials would suffer. This explains why the Netherlands Indian Government as a rule forbade the buying up of native cane by Western sugar mills, and why it hedged in by all kinds of protective measures the native tea planters who had to sell their wet leaves to a tea factory.

Under these circumstances it is all too obvious why export crop cultivation in Java never became important and why in the outer provinces only native rubber and coconut production attained any volume. Native rubber, moreover, had to compete with estate rubber, and here another difficulty arose which never fails to appear in similar circumstances. The large plantations which are amply capitalized and scientifically managed have a production capacity and a productivity many times that of the native gardens, and by direct and close contacts they are able to adapt their product to the continually changing demands of the international markets. In all these aspects the native producers lag behind. Their strength lies in their low production costs, in their extreme parsimony which borders on actual neglect. Such production methods do not make for quality in the product. This low quality standard may not matter so long as the market is a seller's market and the buyer accepts any offer. But as soon as the buyer gains the upper hand, he raises his standard and becomes selective. Then the native product falls short, fetches very low prices or becomes unsaleable.

It is typical of agriculture that wherever climate and soil conditions are favourable for a certain crop, mass cultivation is to be expected, because little capital is needed in the production process. This mass character of native export crop production may be an advantage when specific natural requirements of the crop restrict its potential area, otherwise it easily leads to over-production and a fall in prices, jeopardizing all profit. Further, when child labour is profitable, as in cotton picking, this mass character may lead to a rapid increase of population, neutralizing the advantages of the new crop (Egypt).

One other threat to native cultures, especially those of perennial crops, must be mentioned in connexion with the general neglect and lack of renewal. The greater part of the native plantations date from the first world war. This means they have reached an age when the replacement of old trees by young ones becomes a necessity. But the large majority of the garden owners can no longer afford to abandon for years a large part or the whole of their accustomed revenues; they prefer to await the exhaustion of their plantation.

All these features of native export crop production in Indonesia have resulted in a state of affairs in which the native planters are unable to take over production from the Western estates, to oust them or even to compete with them successfully.

There seems to be one exception to this rule—native rubber growing in Sumatra and Borneo. Here the expansion of native export reduced the part of estate rubber to 28 per cent in 1951. This, however, was only possible by excessive tapping and an undiscriminating seller's market. Now that conditions have changed, the native rubber exporters are rapidly losing ground. In a single year, 1952, the part of estate rubber in the export volume rose from

28 to 40 per cent. Many native planters have returned to food crop growing and I venture to prophesy that this regression in native rubber growing will continue indefinitely and that the Western estates will recapture most of the market, unless the policy of the Indonesian Government and of the trade unions compels them to liquidate. But in that case, what will take their place? Here I come to the core of my argument.

The relations between the Western estates and the rural population have become static, incapable of any development. The position of native labour on these large plantations is subordinate and must remain so. For the masses of the Javanese countryside the importance of the estates was the opportunity they offered to earn a modest supplementary money income. The wages were low and remained so, in spite of the endeavours of the Netherlands Indian Government, in the second half of the thirties, to induce the employers to raise the native wage scale. In general only unskilled and simple labour was asked of the labourers, for whom their wages in most cases did not form their exclusive means of support. Much of the labour was performed by women and children whose home ties were not broken as they could usually find work in the neighbourhood of their village. The fact that these occasional and irregular workers supplied the main part of the labour was also owing to the seasonal character of many plantations and plants. The whole organization of the plantations was based on the circumstance that most of the labour came from cheap occasional workers: in the fields and gardens there was very little mechanization; much task work was done by free groups, enabling the employer to restrict his dealings to the foreman of the group; the individual labourers had freedom to come and go; an elastic wage scale was continually adapted to changing conditions.

In the outer provinces these occasional and irregular labourers were unknown. Here dualism, the separation between the capitalist estate or plant and the surrounding pre-capitalist society, was much greater. Here the labourers were recruited from Java or China, whereas the autochthonous population had only incidental contact with the Western plantation and, for the rest, benefited by the modernization of their society, brought about and paid for by the Westerners, and the lively trade and traffic arising from the indirect influence of Western capital on the whole region.

These two aspects of Indonesian society must be considered more closely; first, the fact that in Western economic development, in the capitalist production process, the labour of the native population was only important for its mass character, not for the value of individual performances, so that the tie which bound the main body of workers, as producers, to modern Western business was extremely loose, tenuous and weak. Secondly, the native population had a much larger share in Western development as consumers through the benefit derived from the Western superstructure of society, a superstructure which was due to the financial strength and the indirect economic influence of Western business. This benefit had to compensate for the shortcomings of Western business in the direct remuneration of native manual labour.

In this state of affairs, the sovereign Indonesian Government brought about two fundamental changes. It has considerably reduced the significance of the rural population as collaborators in Western production and it has furthered a great increase in the demands of the labourers as consumers. By this policy the economic balance between the various production factors

has been radically disturbed, the life of numerous Western enterprises has been jeopardized, and the foundation of the modern superstructure of the entire Indonesian society has been undermined or at least severely weakened.

These statements require some further explanation. First, as to the way the Indonesian Government has encroached upon the value of the population as collaborators, as co-producers, in Western business. As early as 1948, in the revolutionary period of the 'Indonesian Republic' at Jogjakarta, a labour law was promulgated proclaiming a 7-hour working day and a 40-hour working week. Later on, 16 official national holidays were proclaimed.

In agriculture, where the pace of the labourer cannot be checked or fixed with any degree of precision, a 7-hour working day is certainly far too short. An official report on small-scale agriculture in the Netherlands declares the normal working day to be 10 standard working hours. In its annual report for the year 1950 the Amsterdam Trading Company states that after the war 70 per cent of its oil palm plantations have been reopened, that the oil production from this area has declined to 40 per cent of pre-war output, but that to obtain this reduced quantity 150 per cent of the pre-war labour force was required. This may serve as an illustration of a phenomenon general throughout the business world in Indonesia.

As to the present demands of the labourers in their capacity of consumers I have in mind the wage increases for which constant pressure is exerted by the trade unions. They have convinced the employers' syndicates of the necessity of collective labour contracts which *inter alia* bind them to minimum wages for their labourers, to be paid partly in cash, partly in kind (rice). This minimum wage is 30 times the pre-war minimum wage paid to regular adult male labourers. It is supplemented by bonuses, premiums and social charges, for the most part dictated by the Government.

The official exchange rate of the rupiah has declined to one-third of the pre-war Indonesian guilder, but the real value of the rupiah in the interior is so much lower that this 30-fold minimum wage may indeed be considered as no more than a living wage, that is a wage providing a living for a family of husband, wife and two children, completely dependent on the wage earnings of the bread-winner. Before the war the large majority of wage earners were occasional labourers, people who, as families, still found their main living within the village communities, supplemented only by earnings on the estate. Now suddenly every one of them, male or female, has become a regular labourer and, in the case of the adult male, a bread-winner of a family. This has caused a revolutionary change in the labour structure of the Western enterprises and completely upset their business calculations.

From a social point of view there is a still more serious consequence. The employer who has to pay his labourers as regular labourers wants them to behave as such, wants them to work six days a week and seven hours a day. He, therefore, is no longer prepared to allow them to come and leave at their convenience or to form free groups of task workers. The employer has to contract with each worker individually, to register every one of them. In this way the Javanese villagers have lost an important, for many even the most important, source of cash income; and the connexion between the Western enterprise and the village household has been broken. The regular estate labourers are proletarians, without social standing in the village community. Even if they continue to live in the village, they take no part in its life, they

are outsiders. The social dualism, the separation between the two domains, that of the village and that of the estate, becomes more rigorous.

Another reaction of the Western estates should be stated. It is natural that every concern tries to escape utter ruin. Some only prolong their existence by exhausting their real capital, some liquidate without further struggle. None of these are replaced by Indonesian estates or small native gardens. To Indonesian society their disappearance is a total loss. But the larger, stronger concerns who realize that this course of events cannot go on much longer, that Indonesia in the long run cannot do without them, that the present situation is a transition period, and who can persuade their shareholders to foot the bill, follow another course. By every means they try to reduce their unsatisfactory labour force, they mechanize. For the very reason that before the war the abundance of cheap labour checked this policy there are still great possibilities in this direction. The labour supply is still super-abundant, it increases, relatively and absolutely with the increase in population. Nevertheless the demand is shrinking rapidly and continually for the simple reason that the wage-level has been artificially raised and maintained far above the equation point of supply and demand. This makes mechanization and the dismissal of labourers, wherever possible, a vital necessity.¹

On balance of the state of affairs in Indonesia it seems that the economic dualism has penetrated too far into Indonesian society to be denied. If the Western estates were to abandon the unequal struggle nothing could be brought forward to take their place and economic collapse and serious over-population would threaten. Neither Indonesianization of management staffs nor nationalization of the principal concerns can help here. Indonesianization would not alter the dualistic situation or even appease the class rancour of the trade unions. Nationalization is a slogan without real meaning in a country lacking native capital, producing for export and dependent on the vagaries of foreign economic policy.

The problems implicit in the economic development of Indonesia, the social implications of technical progress in that country cannot be more clearly elucidated than by comparing them to a contrasting development in another country. For purposes of comparison, then, a brief review of the course of economic development in the British Protectorate of Uganda follows.²

The contrast is not to be explained by the fact that in Uganda a policy of indirect rule was applied; the same policy was followed much earlier in Indonesia also. Neither was it of direct importance that Lord Lugard deemed it necessary to amplify this policy by furthering native industry and attempting to preserve as far as possible traditional village life rather than leaving the adult male population to seek wage labour in remote Western estates and plants. At the outset it formed no part of the British scheme to apply these principles to the Protectorate of Uganda. England needed raw materials for its industries and it was for the British colonies to procure them. The quickest way was to further export production by Western plantations. Therefore, in Uganda, too, a policy was adopted of promoting white settlement, offering wide areas to settlers, and encouraging the population to perform

¹ In the foregoing paragraph mining in Indonesia was left out of account because it lies outside the problem of human implications as analysed in this paper. The mining plants use only regular labourers, recruited in Java or abroad, and relatively few in numbers. They are pure enclaves in the region where they work and only indirectly influence the society which they have helped to open.

² The factual data for this description are borrowed from a thesis in preparation by P. J. van Dooren, drs Indology.

labour services on the newly opened estates and earn in this way the money needed to pay taxes. The spreading of cotton culture among the native population formed no part of the official programme and was readily left to the Anglican Mission, which initiated the project.

Therefore, in Uganda too, the Western estate system would have formed the basis of export crop cultivation but for the accident that the land assigned to the white settlers proved unsuitable for growing cotton and because both the first world war and the world-wide depression of the thirties interfered with further experiments with other export crops. Thanks to these adversities, native cotton growing got its chance to determine the economic future of the Protectorate. However, it must be said in favour of the British administration that it shifted the helm when it saw that native cotton growing promised to become a success. For the estates this change of direction meant new difficulties because from now on the recruitment of workers for the white plantations was no longer backed by the authorities.

It is sometimes pointed out as an advantage of economic development by means of small native export cultures, that this welfare policy guarantees a wholesome gradualness. 'Economic development, if properly guided, can be integrated into the structure of African society instead of remaining an external disintegrating force' (L. Mair, *Native Policies*, p. 13). This statement seems only partly correct. I am rather inclined to endorse the theory that development from below also may cause a revolutionary change and that in Africa in any case it has done so. The male has replaced the female as principal agriculturalist; production for subsistence has been ousted from the first place by production for the market and for profit; occupation has become business; the family provider has become entrepreneur; new money needs have been created; with the appearance of import commodities a new type of distributive retail trade has grown up; in short the African's whole world has been transformed, and with might and main the authorities seek to awaken a new capitalist mentality in a pre-capitalist society. A revolutionary process of this kind cannot be prevented from having a disintegrating influence on communal traditions.

It was undoubtedly a favourable circumstance that the introduction at least of this radical social change was left to a missionary organization. Both its means and its standing permitted only a moderate pace at the start of the movement. This changed when, once it was under way, the administration interfered and government machinery was switched on. In accordance with the system of indirect rule the tribal chiefs had to serve as intermediaries, and the first thing the authorities tried was to awaken the emulation of the chiefs: look at the Eastern Province and be ashamed became the slogan in Buganda, otherwise the foremost province. But coercive measures also were applied, albeit in an Eastern sense only. The administration officers limited themselves to addressing exhortations and recommendations to the chiefs, but they were fully aware that for the chiefs every recommendation was an injunction—an injunction followed all the more readily since the chiefs, being also landlords, found it to their interest to have their farmers try the new culture.¹

In the same style, the chief secretary (by wire) put it up to the people of the Western Province: 'Natives to be informed that three courses are open,

¹ As a rule these farmers were crop-sharers: a share of the cotton crop also had to be delivered to the landlord. In this way the cotton culture formed a kind of forced culture in miniature.

cotton, labour for government, labour for planters, but no attempt is to be made to induce them to choose any one in preference to the others. Only one thing to be made clear, that they cannot be permitted to do nothing and be of no use to themselves or to the country' (*Report*, East Africa Commission, 1925, p. 143). Also the chief secretary will have been conscious and confident that the 'free' choice would fall on cotton which at least allowed the producer to stay at home.

It is a strange fate for the colonial welfare policy to have the Government assume the role of revolution maker. Or is it not a revolutionary act to supplant by a single rule the pre-capitalist ideal of life: repose above all ('to do nothing') by the capitalist law of life: time is money and work is man's vocation?

Once the profits of the new crop became tangible to the producers, further encouragement was unnecessary. 'The sale of his produce enables [the native cultivator] to buy imported goods and stimulates the desire for individual gain. Once this has been liberated from the control of custom, he needs little further inducement to concentrate on export crops, and wants more money so as to clear or buy land and hire labour' (J. S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice*, p. 293).

The two world wars and their aftermath were favourable to native cotton cultivation in Uganda and it spread rapidly. They demonstrated England's dependence on Empire cotton and forced up prices. In 1950 a population of less than 5 million earned an income of more than £30 million from cotton export, that is from a crop introduced less than fifty years before in the pioneer cotton area in the Eastern Provinces. The area which in 1910 hardly covered 6,000 hectares in that part of Uganda by 1938 had already increased to 250,000 hectares. In Buganda the growth of cotton culture was still more striking; it had started later, but within a generation it was in the lead.

The rapidity of this penetration of money economy into a pre-capitalist society intensifies the revolutionary character of the change. This revolutionary change necessitated a radical government policy which could, however, as soon as the first world war was over, assume the paternalistic character typical of welfare policies in most colonial countries. In 1922 a valorization policy was applied; about the same time plough culture was introduced with cattle as the tractive power; during the years of depression and overproduction of cotton other export crops (coffee, tobacco, etc.) were produced in addition to cotton; a licence system was established for buyers and payment in money adopted; prices were controlled and regulations passed to protect quality. For the cotton culture especially, these government measures were further supplemented by cost-free supply of cotton seed; interdiction of certain specified methods of sowing, harvesting and ginning; interdiction of a second planting on the same field in the same year; interdiction to stock seeds or plants; prescription to apply rotation with food crops; authorization to the governor to prohibit cotton cultivation in specified tracts and to destroy the whole crop without compensation in case of pests.

In the war years of the forties this paternal interference by the Government increased still further. A government monopoly was set up for the buying up of the two main native export crops, cotton and coffee, and this government agency also acted as single seller to foreign countries. A fixed minimum price was guaranteed to the producers. The surpluses received by the selling agencies were paid into two price stabilization funds, which in a few years could put several million pounds at the disposal of the authorities.

As described above, part of the revolutionary government policy was to instil an entirely new conception of labour. But so to remould the African mind is easier said than done. Thus far, the average man only sees the new market crop as a source of money income, which does not require too much exertion, and enables him to make purchases beyond his daily needs. He does not yet feel dependent on these new crops nor does he love their culture as such. If ever the economic situation permits him to acquire the same extra revenue with less labour, he would prefer the same income with less exertion to a higher income at the cost of his sweat. Exertion as such has no merit: labour remains a necessary evil, the less necessary the more evil. No one believes work to be the purpose of life, no one has pledged his heart to the cultivation of cotton.

Under these circumstances the task the Government has set itself is to change a people of consumers into a people of producers; into a society which will give its whole attention to performing its part in the production process and to the productivity of its labour, instead of to the question of how to enjoy life to the full; to educate the people to see labour as man's vocation on earth and repose as a preparation for fresh exertions. It may be that this alteration in the conception of life is ultimately unavoidable since without it there remains the danger of irregular production, of insufficient care of the crop, decline in quality, exhausting cultivation, of adulteration, etc.

Up to the present the Government has succeeded in conjuring the serious symptoms of this threat by its paternal economic policy, which in all probability is not justified, and already led to disturbances in 1949. Apparently the Government is going on the theory that when a certain wholesome tradition or custom can be developed these are a sufficient substitute for rational insight and love for the crop in the individual producer.

Nevertheless, the consequences of the capitalist change of mentality are bound to appear. Thus, the increasing influence of self interest on social and economic activities is one of the first expressions of growing individualism. 'A common complaint among the black people is that hospitality has disappeared and instead the travelling man has to pay for food and shelter even with his relatives' (R. C. Thurnwald, *Black and White in East Africa*, p. 133). Mutual help in the village community is also disappearing. The easy earning of money has become a sport and a game. Even the children became conscious of the charm of making money; boys and girls in Buganda have laid out their own small cotton fields and convert the produce into money for their own use.

A more important consequence of the social trend towards capitalism has been the appearance of the 'kulak', the rural exploiter. As has been said, the new capitalist mentality is by no means a universal phenomenon. Only a few become imbued with it and are thus able to dominate their weaker brethren: they increase their landed property; they change agriculture into a business undertaking based on capital: they enter into crop sharing contracts or farm out their lands; they act as moneylenders and buy up the native market crops, they are traders rather than peasants and they shirk manual labour. They form the capitalist counterpart of the tribal or clan chiefs, whose landed property, wealth and power are not founded on personal qualities but on status and tradition. They are, however, also gradually usurping the place of the Indians in retail trade. It makes an essential difference whether the agriculturalists they exploit are subsistence farmers or growers of cash crops. In the latter case they do not disturb a closed pre-capitalist household economy,

but rather introduce an element of social differentiation into the agrarian community; they have, therefore, a much more positive social function and may be considered and accepted as pioneers on the road to modern conditions.

The authorities have less reason to take action against the 'kulak' because they have found a powerful and efficient weapon for the protection of the ordinary farmer in the co-operative society. It is a promising feature of the co-operative movement in Uganda that the first co-operative societies were organized without government interference and before co-operative legislation had been enacted; in the countryside and among farmers; not for credit purposes, but for the marketing of produce. For the time being the authorities had best overlook the fact that the most active of these co-operative societies have somewhat the character of closed companies and that the democratic principle of individual equality of all the members is not strictly adhered to in practice. On the other hand the co-operative organization can and should also be used, on behalf of the ordinary village people for other than strictly economic purposes: in the first place to develop a consciousness of social responsibility and the sense of solidarity with a community. If this succeeds the co-operative society may replace the traditional village or tribal community which is doomed.

THE RECRUITMENT OF WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

B. F. HOSELITZ

In the discussion of the human problems arising in underdeveloped countries undergoing a process of technological change, the question of the formation and training of an industrial labour force stands in the foreground. It is, indeed, a most important problem, especially if a process of relatively rapid industrialization is envisaged, and if not merely the acquisition of new manual and technical skills, but the entire alteration of the way of life of large masses of the population takes place. Most of the past discussions of the development of an industrial labour force have concentrated on two groups within the new industries: the industrial labourers at the bottom of the scale, and the technical elite, the engineers. Some attention has also been given to the problem of how managers concerned with the organizational and 'business' problems of the new industries can be trained and, in some underdeveloped countries, what steps could be taken to induce the development of a class of private entrepreneurs in industry.

The problems which arise in all these areas are complex and differ from one another considerably. The transformation of 'peasants and primitives' into industrial labourers is a task involving masses of people, and which affects not merely the place and manner of their daily activity, but their entire social

existence.¹ The training of engineers and top managers involves fewer individuals, but because of the strategic positions which these obtain in an industrializing economy, their selection and their most appropriate employment also involve, from the viewpoint of the economy as a whole, various difficult problems.²

With all the attention which has been given to the incentives and motivations which may exist for industrial workers on the one hand and managers, entrepreneurs, technical leaders, and engineers on the other, one group has received little attention, though, in the last resort, their successful recruitment and effective co-operation is indispensable for a process of industrialization. This group is that of the white-collar workers. In the subsequent paragraphs I propose to suggest a few thoughts on the role which this group may play in a process of industrialization and on some problems which arise.

Before entering into a discussion of the problem itself I wish to express two *caveats*:

1. The countries which are commonly designated as 'underdeveloped' exhibit great differences in culture, relative level of economic advancement, political structure, and internal social relations. Since my remarks will be couched in general terms, some of them may be inapplicable to individual countries. In fact, it would be impossible to present significant propositions on this (as on almost any other) topic, if one were to make sure that they were really applicable to *all* underdeveloped countries. Some assertions made in this paper must, therefore, be interpreted as describing tendencies in some countries, a real situation in others, and to be of subordinate or no importance for certain others.
2. For reasons of space, some of the situations described will be schematized to a certain extent. I readily admit that such a procedure constitutes a simplification of the real situations, but I hope that over-simplifications can be avoided, and that in spite of some schematization the analysis of at least the core problems will not lose its validity.

When we speak of white-collar workers we deal with a group of people who, in terms of economic position and social ranking, exhibit great heterogeneity. In most of the theoretical treatments, white collar workers, as a group, are counted among the middle class, and I will follow this practice by making use of the classification of the middle class presented by Professor F. Marbach.³ Marbach distinguishes between the 'old' and the 'new' middle class, and further between the 'self-employed' and the 'non-self-employed' members of the middle class. Although, on the whole, there is some overlapping between the 'old' and the 'self-employed', on the one hand, and the 'new' and the 'non-self-employed', on the other, the two principles of classification yield four easily distinguishable categories. In this paper we are concerned only with white-collar workers, i.e., with members of the non-self-employed sector of the middle class. And here, we may distinguish two groups again, one of which corresponds, on the whole, with Marbach's old, and the other with his new middle class.

The new non-self-employed middle class is made up of white-collar workers who perform relatively unskilled labour. Although they do not work with

¹ On this problem, see Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor*, New York, 1951.

² See on some aspects of this point my article 'Entrepreneurship and Economic Growth', *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, vol. XII, no. 1 (October 1952).

³ Fritz Marbach, *Theorie des Mittelstandes*, Berne, 1942, esp. p. 188 ff.

their hands, their real income, in the advanced countries, is normally not above, and frequently even below that of semi-skilled and skilled manual workers. In this group belong the typists, bookkeepers, shipping clerks, filing clerks, and other persons engaged in commercial and industrial establishments and in public service. This group will be designated in this paper as 'employees'.

The old non-self-supporting middle class is made up almost entirely of public officials, normally in the higher ranks of the public service. To this group should be added persons engaged in occupations of similar complexity in the service of private firms or individuals. We will designate this group hereinafter as 'officials'.

The 'employees' are distinguished from the manual labourers in that they work in an office rather than a workshop or a factory, and that their work requires, in general, a higher degree of literacy than most manual jobs. A typist must know how to spell, and a bookkeeper must have, on the whole, a greater ability for arithmetic than most manual workers. The 'employees' are distinguished on the other hand from the 'officials' in that their jobs usually do not involve, nor permit them to make, decisions of any significance. The work of employees is mostly routine work, it requires, apart from certain relatively non-complex skills, chiefly the ability to be attentive, patient, and careful. Moreover, as a rule, the incomes and also the social position of officials is considerably higher than that of employees, as also of skilled manual workers.

The most characteristic aspect of the economic role of officials is their intermediary position in a bureaucratic hierarchy.¹ This means that they are normally in a position in which they receive general directives from the persons in elite positions within their bureaucratic hierarchy, and it is their task to translate these general directives for their subordinates. In addition they are usually called upon to make decisions within a rigorously prescribed field, to iron out differences between their subordinates, and to maintain channels of communication with co-ordinated portions of their bureaucratic hierarchy. The most significant difference between officials and the members of the 'elite' is that only the latter make policy decisions, and occupy, in governmental hierarchies or in business organizations, the positions of ultimate responsibility. As a rule, there is also some difference in the level of income and general social ranking between members of the elite and even the highest-placed officials.

From the distinctions made, it is clear that there exist important differences in the incentives and motivations of employees, on the one hand, and officials, on the other. I shall first briefly consider the former group.

The employees are, in the advanced countries, the 'proletarianized' portion of the middle class. Their income often remains below that of manual workers, and this appears to be a correct reflection of the overall social value of their economic contribution. The particular jobs which they perform require few specialized skills, apart from those acquired by almost all children in school. Whatever skills are needed in addition can usually be learned by a very short training or by some process of on-the-job training. Moreover, since many of the jobs performed by employees are on a low level of technical complexity, the human factor can be replaced relatively easily by machines. In other

¹ I shall not distinguish in what follows always between public, i.e., governmental, and private, i.e., business bureaucracies. Although I shall be concerned mostly with public bureaucracies, most of what applies to them also applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to business bureaucracies.

words, machines plus high-grade engineers can often be substituted for employees—the various types of office equipment from the simple typewriter to the most complex Hollerith machine are examples of this. Whether or not, and under what conditions such substitutions will take place is a question of relative prices. But the ease with which such substitution can be accomplished is another factor pressing the incomes of employees to a low level.

Compared with this situation in the advanced countries, a different situation is likely to persist in many underdeveloped countries, at least during the early period of the industrialization process. The differences are due mainly to two factors: the much greater illiteracy rates in underdeveloped countries and the very low prestige that in many of these societies is attributed to manual work which ‘dirties one’s hands’. (This last factor plays a certain role too in advanced countries.) Some employees endure their economically unenviable position, because being a white-collar worker gives the illusion to the outside world—and sometimes even to oneself—that one is above the ordinary crowd of common labourers. This has the consequence, as Marbach has shown, that employees in advanced countries are recruited, on the whole, from a higher social layer than manual labourers, even though the amount and quality of education required for the two types of position are not very different.

In many underdeveloped countries the relative social prestige which attaches to white-collar jobs is even greater, and that is in close correlation with the relatively greater scarcity of literate persons. For this reason white-collar jobs which require few or no advanced skills are in great demand, often by people who do not even possess these skills—although they only know how to read and write. This makes the problem of selection difficult and here another characteristic of many developing countries comes in: the partial absence of impersonal market relations and the much greater weight of family and other primary group relationships in these countries.

In practice these factors have the following consequence: lower-rank employee positions become available to persons with a minimum degree of literacy. In view of the social prestige of white-collar positions as compared with manual labour, and because of the relatively greater scarcity of individuals even with a minimum degree of literacy, such positions will normally pay higher wages than those of manual workers and most occupations in agriculture. Hence, with an increase of the rudiments of literacy there will be a race for these jobs and selection for them will depend, to a large extent, on personal connections and friendships between applicants and persons in the higher echelons of an administrative organization. It is no secret that, in many underdeveloped countries, the staffs of certain government offices are composed of relatives or co-villagers and other personal friends of one or several heads of a department or division. It is not necessary to point out that this method of recruitment of even the lowest ranks of a public bureaucracy has many undesirable aspects. It tends to keep out many qualified persons; it places professional relationships within the bureaucratic hierarchy on a non-rational basis; it produces vested, almost clannish, interests within the public service; and it endangers the principle of promotion within the bureaucracy from the ranks, since not effective performance but personal friendship is the decisive criterion. At the same time, this system bears the seeds of producing corrupt administrations, since every applicant for a position will find it desirable to ‘become a friend’ of persons with the power of appointment—if necessary by means of gifts or bribes.

It is, of course, not suggested that this must be the rule in all public administrations in underdeveloped countries. But we must consider that even its sporadic occurrence may have serious adverse consequences, and we must moreover bear in mind that with progressive industrialization, the expansion of public and semi-public bureaucracies of various kinds is inevitable. Industrialization leads to great population shifts. New cities arise, villages become towns. New administrative functions become necessary, called forth by the increased need for speedy and accurate communication and transportation and by the new functions which national, provincial, and local governments are forced to adopt.

Moreover, the drafting into industry of peasants and other persons without urban background requires the increase of various welfare, educational, and other administrative agencies which normally only central or local governments can provide. All these trends make necessary a large increase of bureaucracy and thus pose a problem in the recruitment of employees, as well as officials. In view of the pressures which are likely to arise, it is most desirable to found effective 'community-oriented' administrations, and the ambiguity in the social and economic position of lower-rank employees may operate against this objective.

An alternative would be the attempt to substitute, wherever possible, machines for employees. But this would lead to the contradictory result that in countries in which labour is cheap, labour-saving machinery would be employed in occupations where a number of new career opportunities could be created which, in the long run, would have an important beneficial effect on the economic growth potential of the country. It would have the other unfavorable result that the scarce foreign exchange would have to be used for the purchase of expensive equipment and that the middle and upper ranks of the bureaucracy would be even more heavily overburdened with work and responsibility. And these persons, who are in crucial positions, are already in short supply. Whatever dangers and inadequacies may lie in the recruitment of employees, the chief bottleneck in the building up of administrative bureaucracies in underdeveloped countries is in fact in the lack of trained officials.

Many of the problems which we observe in the recruitment of employees are also encountered in the building up of a staff of officials, and *vice versa*. Some of the points which will be discussed below apply also to the expansion of the lower ranks of an administrative organization. The constitution of a bureaucracy is fraught, on all levels, with analogous problems. But the important difference between inducting employees and officials is that because of the differences in the nature of their respective roles different factors are of chief importance in the case of each of the two groups.

As has been pointed out, the peculiarity of the role of officials consists in that they make decisions. They cannot, therefore, be replaced by machines. But in a well-functioning bureaucracy their decisions are not arbitrary, however independently they may be made. I do not refer to the fact that the decisions made by any official are limited by the competence of his department, division, or section, but rather that however free he may be, and may need to be, in some respects, he is merely an instrument implementing policies which were not designed by him, but imposed upon him. To fill the position of an official properly, it is, therefore, necessary that the holder of such an office be ready to place himself fully at the service of the bureaucratic hierarchy he serves and that he ask himself at every juncture whether his activity is in

pursuit of the general policy directives under which he functions. In addition he is charged with doing his work in the most efficient manner possible. Efficiency in this context means something very similar to what economists have in mind when they speak of 'economizing': the attainment of a given goal with a minimum of means.

These limitations ideally impose upon an official a perfectly 'rational' method of action. There is a close analogy between an ideal-typical official and an ideal-typical entrepreneur. The latter 'economizes' means in order to maximize profit, the former in order to maximize the implementation of whatever policy he is charged to execute. It is no wonder, therefore, that really efficient bureaucracies exist only in a social framework in which rationality (in Max Weber's sense) has become a widely generalized principle of social action. Weber sums up thus his penetrating discussion of the bureaucracy.

'Bureaucratic structure is everywhere a late product of development. The farther we go back in historical development, the more typical become forms of government which lack a bureaucracy and officialdom altogether. Bureaucracy has a "rational" character: it is dominated by rules, purposiveness, means, "objective" impersonality. Its origin and growth has had everywhere a "revolutionary" effect, in a special sense; an effect which the advance of rationalism usually produces wherever it occurs. In this process structural forms of government became annihilated which did not have a rational character, in this special sense.'¹

The specific conditions which are associated with this kind of rational action, and without which it cannot function properly as a generalized principle of social action, include at least the following: tasks in a society must be distributed on the basis of achievement, rather than on the basis of a person's status. That is, in order to implement his job effectively, an official must select those persons and other means which, on the basis of known scientific and technological relations, are most efficient. This demands, moreover, that the exercise of the functions of an official must be 'democratic', in that he disregards, in a formal sense, special claims of individuals which are not based on objective criteria of achievement or on clearly established legal claims. Moreover, this rationality of an official's actions will normally lead to his making use of whatever specialized skills exist, in order to achieve an end. Hence rational bureaucratic activity tends to support and sometimes even to initiate division of labour and specialization. Finally, the impersonal quality of the official's purpose requires that he be 'community-oriented', i.e., that he regards his office as a trust which he administers in the interest of the community as a whole, rather than as a benefice which leads to his own enrichment or the accumulation of power.²

Many of these principles of social action are foreign to the value systems dominant in some underdeveloped countries. Moreover, in some countries the social structure and its maintenance work against the introduction of these principles. Hence the development of effective bureaucracies encounters great obstacles. Indeed, really efficient administrative organizations have been created only in economically advanced countries; the governmental and

¹ Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tuebingen, 1947, vol. II, p. 677-8.

² A more extensive discussion of these interrelations can be found in my essay, 'Social Structure and Economic Growth', *Economia Internazionale*, vol. VI, no. 3 (August 1953). See also Marion J. Levy, Jr., 'Some Sources of the Vulnerability of the Structures of Relatively Non-Industrialized Societies to those of Highly Industrialized Societies' in B. F. Hoselitz, ed., *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas*, Chicago, 1952.

administrative apparatuses of most underdeveloped countries were, until recently, either manned in their higher positions by non-natives, or experienced periodic breakdowns.¹ In other words, the administrations of native governments or enterprises in many countries of, say Latin America or the Middle East, exhibited a degree of inefficiency and instability which was one of the factors accountable for the relative economic backwardness of these countries. The administrations of colonies and foreign-owned enterprises in underdeveloped countries were manned, at least, in their higher positions by citizens of the metropolitan country, who transplanted their own organizational and administrative procedures. With the attainment of independence by many former colonies, and the increasing trend to place foreign investments in all underdeveloped countries under the supervision of the national government, the growth and extension of native bureaucracies is necessary. These must take over the functions exercised until recently by non-natives. In other instances they must modernize themselves and replace their often inefficient and non-rational methods of operation by the introduction of the principle of rational action on an impersonal, formally egalitarian, basis. This process of innovation makes great demands on a new type of manpower, and it is not surprising that the recruitment of officials equal to the tasks demanded of them forms a serious bottleneck in the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

In the subsequent paragraphs I shall try to analyse some of the factors which exert an influence on the number and types of persons who become officials in the bureaucracies of underdeveloped countries. This may explain why the shortages exist and how they might be overcome. One important factor is the absence, in most underdeveloped countries, of well-ordered administrative procedures. Existing bureaucratic procedures are outdated and often derived from the practice of some more advanced country with entirely different conditions. The previous colonial status of some countries and the fact that others, though politically independent, were culturally dependent on an advanced country have caused the adoption of certain European systems of administration which sometimes were altered a little to suit local conditions better, but which in general need considerable overhauling. These very procedures often make public, as well as business, bureaucracies in underdeveloped countries topheavy, cumbersome and ill-adapted to the needs of the country. Examples of this can be found in the tax and fiscal administrations of many underdeveloped countries, but they exist also in other fields.² The most appropriate method to deal with this situation is the substitution of existing administrative procedures by more suitable ones, a task in which the United Nations and its specialized agencies may provide considerable assistance.

In addition to the external cumbersomeness of administrative structures which could be relatively easily removed, if it were not for a multitude of

¹ On some of the bureaucracies in antiquity and the middle ages and their differences with the modern type of governmental and business bureaucracies, see Weber, op. cit., p. 655 ff. One of the outstanding examples of a bureaucracy in a country which did not belong to the group of economically advanced areas was imperial China. But whatever may be said about the merits of the Chinese imperial bureaucracy, one of its main features was its instability which made it incapable of functioning in a period of social and economic transition imposing increased stresses. See on this point, Marion J. Levy, Jr., 'Contrasting Factors in the Modernization of China and Japan', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, vol. II, no. 3 (October 1953), esp. p. 165 ff.

² On this point, see Henry S. Bloch, 'Economic Development and Public Finance', in B. F. Hoselitz, op. cit. I was able to observe personally the extreme clumsiness of the customs administration of a Latin American country in which I served on a United Nations Technical Assistance Mission.

vested interests of office holders or other beneficiaries of the system, there are factors in the social structure of some countries which make the formation of rationally operating bureaucracies difficult. I refer to the excessive inequalities in social position and, resulting from it, the quasi-feudal character of some underdeveloped societies. At the top of the social pyramid is a small group which has a virtual monopoly of wealth, political power, and education—the three main status-conferring variables. The officials who are appointed under such a system usually stand in a relation to the political power holders which resembles that of the medieval *ministeriales* to their clerical or secular overlords. In other words, the officials do not serve the community as a whole, but the special interests of a politically powerful group. This has the consequence that not only excessive emphasis is placed on the preservation of the *status quo*, at least as far as the distribution of political power and social prestige is concerned, but it also tends to keep out of the administration persons who have undoubted objective qualifications, but who do not stand in a quasi-retainer position to the members of the community's elite. Quite apart from the fact that such bureaucracies are in any case unsatisfactory because recruitment is based not on the principle of achievement, but on that of personal status, a class of discontented intellectuals is created, who often turn to various radical movements in order to attain positions in which their capacity for political leadership can find some expression. But in the shadow of the division of the world into two great camps, the formation of political opposition groups often leads to a repetition of the world conflict between communism and democracy within the underdeveloped country. Although the radical groups are sometimes illegal and may exist only underground, they are present nevertheless, and impose serious difficulties on the smooth economic progress of the country. Furthermore, this very situation makes the introduction of more rational community-oriented bureaucracies even more difficult. For, as Weber has pointed out, this process of rationalization is 'revolutionary' in a certain sense. It has the tendency of reshaping social relations and introducing a principle of formal egalitarianism which the political elite may regard as dangerous to its interests and whose introduction it will therefore attempt to resist. In such countries—and some of the Middle Eastern and Latin American nations belong to this group—the introduction of modern bureaucracies may encounter great difficulties. This will, at the same time, affect the speed and ease with which an overall process of 'economic development can be accomplished.

Fortunately, the majority of the larger and more important underdeveloped countries do not have quite such rigid social structures. Some rigidities exist there also, and they impede the extension of rational, impersonally operating administrations. For example, Daniel Thorner recently surveyed the prospects of reshaping the village administrations in India through the establishment of village *panchayats*. He found that in most parts of India the *panchayats* have no power whatever and are not likely to obtain it, and that in those parts where they are effective they have been built into old-established power and social structures reinforcing the caste system where it still exists, and a class system based on differential land-ownership and wealth, where the caste system is weaker. Thorner sums up his observations with the remark that to rebuild village life would require far greater vision, authority and popular support than is commanded by the *panchayats* anywhere in India. To approach the goal of rural economic development through the agency of the

existing village *panchayats* would appear to be an exercise in frustration.¹

But although such impediments to the formation of modern rational bureaucracies exist probably in all underdeveloped countries, they have become relatively subordinated in some, especially in the formation of governmental bureaucracies in the larger administrative units and, above all, also in the business bureaucracies. Yet even there some obstacles still exist, which are due partly to the lack of adequate training facilities for officials, and partly to the absence of traditions of officialdom which prescribe a strong ethic for the profession and produce the sentiment of responsibility and loyalty to one's task so characteristic of bureaucracies in advanced countries.

Although the systems of professional and higher education are being re-examined in almost all underdeveloped countries, there is still too great an emphasis on literary-historical and narrowly legal training. This is also the case with requirements for positions in the higher ranks of the bureaucracy. The notion that an official is often, even predominantly, not a 'generalist', but a specialist in a particular field of knowledge has not yet fully penetrated the public administrations of advanced countries and lags badly behind in underdeveloped countries. One consequence of this fact is that in advanced countries, as well as in underdeveloped countries, private bureaucracies are often staffed with better qualified and sometimes better educated men than public bureaucracies. In underdeveloped countries where specialized technical and professional skills are relatively scarce, the loss of many qualified individuals who might have performed valuable public service to private enterprises is a serious blow to government administration. Again, many officials who go abroad on government fellowships in order to acquire special skills soon after their return drift into better paid or more honorific positions in private business administration.

A sufficiently large supply of adequately trained persons for higher positions in public bureaucracies will only be forthcoming when educational facilities are increased and improved. But here, as in so many other instances, the intermediate schools are in the greatest need of improvement. In some underdeveloped countries there exist excellent universities, and a small number of persons may even receive a university education abroad. The extension and improvement of elementary education is also given high priority in all development plans, and this is quite appropriate in view of the still high illiteracy rates. But it is of almost equal importance to modernize and improve secondary education and technical training. Here is a great field of development in which Unesco can be of inestimable service.

Even the provision of more adequate educational facilities on the secondary level and in special technical fields will have only limited results if traditions of loyalty in service and responsibility are not developed. There are many factors which operate against the rapid and easy introduction of these values. As already stated, in some underdeveloped countries, public officials—and within a somewhat different context officials in business enterprises—often occupy positions similar to those of personal retainers of their superiors. Although this may be acceptable in business bureaucracies, in the long run, it defeats the effective operation of a public administration. But the replacement of this personal tie of service to one's superior by the integration of an official

¹ Daniel Thorner, 'The Village Panchayat as a Vehicle of Change', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, vol. II, no. 3 (October 1953), p. 215.

into an impersonal hierarchy is a most difficult process, requiring a total re-adaptation in thinking and values. It is clear that in order to achieve such a transformation powerful incentives must be present. I can think of only two developments in the societies of underdeveloped countries which may support it. One is the elevation of the prestige and power of officials and the other is the persistence of nationalist sentiments. Neither of these alternatives appears attractive to a person educated in and adhering to the values of Western society. The first tendency seems to increase greatly the danger of creating a managerial class, possibly with totalitarian predilections, and the second to contribute to a growth of ethnocentrism and rejection of cultural and other influences from abroad which may ultimately endanger the peaceful development of international relations.

But the dilemma may appear greater than it really is. The growth of managerial tendencies in public administrations may be tempered with an enhanced emphasis on popular democratic processes, and nationalism may perform a positive function in destroying primary loyalties to a family, tribe, or local village group, and replacing them by loyalties to the nation as a whole. We should not forget that also in Europe nationalism passed through this positive constructive phase, and is responsible, in part, for the consolidation of the great nations of contemporary Europe. If the underdeveloped countries can achieve the creation of smoothly functioning bureaucracies without giving way to the excesses of managerialism or nationalism—both of which contain the seeds of political and social totalitarianism—they will have made a contribution to socio-political practice in this matter equivalent to any achievement of the already advanced countries.

THE UNSETTLED ATTITUDE OF NEGRO WORKERS IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

A. Doucy

PROBLEMS OF VALUES

It is now becoming increasingly evident that the main problem which governments have to face in Africa south of the Sahara is that of Negro manpower. In the Belgian Congo the colonial authorities, anxious to meet the requirements of the present economic development, and realizing the extent of the problems it involves, are doing their best to find a solution. No solution can be satisfactory, however, unless it is adapted to the mentality of the local population. For the Negro mentality is different from ours; it results from a combination of historical circumstances affecting successive generations, and upon which—as Professor Glansdorff points out—are grafted certain particular tendencies which can in most cases be traced to external sources and are of a psychological character.

- In the sphere with which we are here concerned, the mentality of the

Negroes in the Belgian Congo explains why their idea of work is in complete contradiction to our theories of 'work as a duty' and 'work as a source of prosperity'. So the colonial authorities, faced—as elsewhere in Africa—with the need to employ local labour, have tried to introduce a number of new conditions, aimed at modifying the traditional mentality of the workers and bringing it somewhat nearer to our own.

Since the Negroes in the Belgian Congo are—to quote Professor Glansdorff again—'strongly influenced by the habit of seeing, owning or using any particular object', these new mental tendencies should have the effect of awakening in them needs which they had not hitherto felt, and which could be satisfied only by undertaking some European form of work. But the new mentality cannot be created unless the new social and psychological conditions introduced by the colonial authorities make full allowance for the old one.

And it cannot, I think, be confidently asserted that this has been done anywhere in Negro Africa. That is probably why our Western ideas have made so little impression on the Negro mind. As regards the workers' needs, however, there has been a great change in the situation. Those needs are more numerous and extensive than they were fifty years ago; and they are also more numerous and extensive than those of Negroes who have remained in their traditional surroundings. But the things the Negro wants, and the order and quantity in which he wants them, are bewildering to a Western mind.

The Negro mentality has not been fundamentally transformed, so that for him the value of an object is determined, in many cases, not so much by its usefulness or rarity as by the actual conditions under which it can be bartered. This is in fact quite logical, at any rate from the superficial point of view, for the process of bartering goods with the 'whites' was what first brought Africans and Europeans into contact. So the Negroes have gradually come to consider that an intrinsic value attaches to objects thus exchanged, and barter has left its mark on their mentality.

After studying the question and making certain experiments, I have come to the conclusion that it would be possible, on this basis, to foster the development of other mental tendencies, favourable to our conception of work. This fundamental difference of conception is woven like a filigree through the considerations advanced in the following pages.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AFRICAN WORKER

The African worker, it must be emphasized, is nearly always a migrant. Wilfrid Benson, discussing the extent of migration in Africa¹ in an article published in *International Labour Review* in 1939,² states that the whole continent is still an area of migration, and that workers are sometimes found to have travelled from one end of it to the other: 'Even where the local demand and supply are equal, it is not unusual to find local labour emigrating to distant employment, and local employments being filled by immigrants. Migration may be enforced by economic conditions. It may be encouraged by economic

¹ With the exception of countries where Arab influence predominates.

² W. Benson, 'Some International Features of African Labour Problems' *International Labour Review*, vol. XXXIX, no. 1, January 1939.

opportunities. It is also based on African traditions.¹ And the author stresses the fact that these migrations are no merely temporary phenomenon. Most of the workers concerned return home after an absence rarely exceeding two years. The volume of migration is increased by the comparative brevity of the period away from home, and sometimes reaches alarming proportions—as, for instance, in Nyasaland, where economic and social development is impossible because, every year, 140,000 persons, out of a population of slightly more than 400,000, go off to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

Another characteristic of the African worker is that he is unskilled. His principal handicap is his complete ignorance of any technique. He cannot do his work efficiently until he has been given some training. Technical training increases his self-respect and also the respect in which he is held by others, and this is very important.² Lack of training gives rise to many problems, which are all the more difficult to solve because, in the territory we are now considering, the demand for labour is constantly increasing. Reading the reports of the missions sent out by the governments of various countries to study the economic situation in certain parts of Africa, one soon notes that the chief concern of their authors is the shortage of manpower, particularly skilled workers.

One mission, reporting to the Governments of British East Africa in 1942, pointed out that these territories were confronted by two problems. In the first place they had to overcome a general shortage of skilled workers, which was not only impeding normal economic activity, but constituted a serious threat to the Government's extensive schemes for developing the mines and for the cultivation of ground-nuts.³

In the second place they had to ensure that children, on leaving school, would regularly enter industry or commerce. The report went on to say that the school system should normally provide a general education, to be followed by apprenticeship or by some other form of vocational training organized within the industry or trade concerned, adding that in all the territories under consideration there was a shortage of highly skilled, reliable workers capable of working without close and constant supervision.

Similar considerations are put forward in the reports issued in 1947 and 1948 respectively by the Government of Nyasaland⁴ and the Government of Northern Rhodesia.⁵

This lack of trained and qualified Negro workers in Africa south of the Sahara is due to a complex series of sociological factors for which the authorities are obliged to make allowance, and which render the problems relating to the employment of local labour much more difficult to solve.

When a man leaves his familiar surroundings in order to work for a European concern, he does not entirely shake off the influence of those surroundings. His sociological background remains unaffected, so it is not surprising if he disappoints us by failing to understand the principles of our industrial civilization.

¹ W. Benson, op. cit. p. 34.

² Statement made by the ILO delegation to the African Labour Conference, Elizabethville, 1950.

³ Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar, *Technical Education and Vocational Training in East Africa*, London, 1948. See also: *United Nations Non-Self-Governing Territories*: summaries and analyses of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1949.

⁴ Nyasaland, *Annual Report of the Public Works Department*, Zomba, 1947.

⁵ Northern Rhodesia, *Labour Department Report for the Year 1947*, Lusaka, 1948.

This does not mean that the authorities—those in control—are not entitled to plan the social economy of Africa on European lines. It simply means that no institution can be established or social progress achieved in the territories we are here considering, without reference to the permanent sociological factors which govern Negro life. We may therefore anticipate that in connexion with employment, circumstances may arise which have no apparent relation to social policy, but which governments will have to take into account.

These circumstances arise, for instance, when the attempt is made:

1. To obtain the necessary manpower for European industrial and commercial undertakings.
2. To avoid disturbing the demographic balance of the tribes, and consequently the agricultural economy of the territory (having regard to the preceding paragraph).
3. To protect the workers, when necessary, in their relations with employers.
4. To ensure them against injury and other risks involved in industrial employment.

I shall now attempt to determine the influence exerted by each of the different circumstances which, in my opinion, affect stability of employment among Africans who work in industry or on plantations in the Belgian Congo.

The information on which this survey is based was obtained partly by Mr. Pierre Feldheim, Director of Research at the Solvay Institute of Sociology, and partly by myself, during two study trips which I made to the Belgian Congo, in 1951 and 1953, on behalf of the University of Brussels and the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa.

STABILITY AND PRODUCTIVITY

As I have already mentioned, the authorities in the Belgian Congo were faced with the problem of native labour in an even more acute form than it assumes elsewhere. In 1948 the authors of the ten-year plan declared that if conditions in the labour market underwent no change, African workers would number about 1.1 million by 1959. At that time the total number of workers was 755,000. A survey made by the General Government in 1950 revealed that even during its initial period the plan would require from 97,000 to 160,000 additional workers. In 1953 the same department stated that there would be no exaggeration in claiming that at that time and in the prevailing circumstances, between 1.1 million and 1.2 million African workers were needed. These figures are taken from an official memorandum prepared by the Department of Native Affairs and Manpower of the General Government of the Belgian Congo, which was discussed by the Léopoldville Provincial Council in 1952.

This shows that already, before a third of the 10-year period has elapsed, the need for workers is in excess of the figure of 1.1 million which the authors of the plan had set as the target to be reached at its conclusion. 'The situation is thus extremely serious'—I quote from the department's report—'for it cannot be denied that at the present stage of development of the peoples of the Congo, it would be very dangerous to recruit more than a million workers'. All the more dangerous since, if all the able-bodied men who are theoretically available in their own homes were employed in European undertakings, the wage-earners would represent nearly 39 per cent of the total number of

able-bodied men in the population. The entire population would suffer from such a disturbance of the economic balance in this vast territory where industry, in the widest sense of the word, is still confined to a few isolated areas. Other solutions must therefore be sought. I myself have a preference for those which are based on the assumption that any policy aimed at increasing productivity will have results of the first importance in the underdeveloped areas.

As soon as one begins to examine the problem of the output of Negro workers in Africa, one is reminded that the dominating feature of the market is its instability. As I have indicated earlier, the Belgian colonial authorities, realizing the fundamental importance of this phenomenon, have expressed their determination to introduce more stable conditions, as one of the goals of the ten-year-plan.¹ Since the absorption capacity of the home market depends chiefly on the level and stability of Negro incomes, the temptation is to try to prevent fluctuations in the labour market by raising wages. The question is whether this is a practical policy and, if so, how it can best be applied.

Before attempting to answer this question, however, we should investigate the causes of the instability of the labour market and try to assess their importance and practical effect, and their bearing on the problem as a whole. For if there is to be any attempt to make organized use of African manpower or to raise output to a satisfactory level, the labour market must first be stabilized. Only then will it become possible to contemplate a gradual, general, reduction in production costs, accompanied by a considerable improvement in the living standards of the population. Having thus indicated the order of procedure, I will now attempt to analyse the factors which, in my opinion, have a decisive influence on the stability of the Negro labour market in the Belgian Congo.

ABSENTEEISM

The problem of fluctuations in the labour market might be summed up in the word 'absenteeism', were it not that allowance must also be made for the sometimes decisive influence of the employers' behaviour and of varying circumstances. I mention this last point only by way of reminder.

Absenteeism, which is endemic among Negro workers in some parts of the Belgian Congo, is the most frequent cause of fluctuations in the labour market. In industry, it is among manual labourers that it occurs most frequently. In the plantations it is most often found among workers employed on weeding, fruit picking and general maintenance. I shall return later to this point.

Without claiming to give a complete list of the causes of absenteeism, I will indicate those which have come to my personal knowledge.

The Influence of Tradition

The influence of tradition is still very strong in the Belgian Congo, and makes demands upon the workers to which even those who seem most Europeanized usually submit.

It cannot, however, be denied that many Negroes go to work in European undertakings simply because they are anxious to escape from the burden of

¹ *Plan Décennal du Congo Belge*, vol. I, p. 17.

these traditions. But though tribal pressure may then be reduced, it continues to be exerted, if only through the influence of the women who, being much less affected than the men by European education and training, and having much less understanding of our Western ideas, remain warmly attached to their own kith and kin. In such a case, a husband and wife will disagree in their attitude towards their respective families. As I have already explained, tribal pressure is still exerted even over a man who has left his village in order to escape from the demands of tradition: this pressure is immediately brought to bear if a worker wishes to get married! He is forced to accept the dowry system and the other rules observed in his community, and thus falls back into the clutches of tradition.

Some people may be tempted to suppose that since dowries are often very high, they must represent a very useful means of encouraging the Negro to work. There is some truth in this. But the fact remains that the man is positively plundered by his wife's family; and if he belongs to a matrilinear community the chances are that its regulations will prevent him from taking his wife with him to his place of work. In many cases he will refuse to accept a fixed-term contract, and it is by no means unusual for him to give up his job and go home to his village. Industrial concerns in the colonies, being aware of the prominent part played by the Negro wives, usually provide a number of facilities to enable their employees to pay dowries and get married. Some companies have gone so far as to adopt a policy of family stabilization which has often given excellent results (the Union Minière du Haut Katanga has been particularly successful in this respect). I have also come across many instances proving that the Negro woman—a habitual cause of absenteeism and therefore of instability—could also have a valuable stabilizing influence.

Another effect of tradition on the workers is their casual attitude towards their employment. A man who leaves his job or is dismissed knows that he will always find support and help in his own village, especially as there is no individual ownership of land, so that any member of the group is entitled to cultivate the soil and reap the resultant harvest. He can thus be off-hand at no risk to himself, and fall back on the village at any time. This tug of war between the clan and the colonial economic system is becoming more and more strenuous.

In the large towns, such as Léopoldville and Elizabethville, there are signs that economic pressure is becoming stronger than home influences. This was apparent, for instance, towards the end of 1953, when the danger of unemployment which arose in certain branches of activity seemed to have brought about an appreciable change in the attitude of workers towards their jobs. But in working for a European concern, the Negro is still embarking upon an unnatural kind of life; and giving up such work still means, for him, a return to a natural life. Thus, as he can find a livelihood in his village, he is very seldom placed in the position of a work-shy labourer in Europe.

The Type of Work

Another prominent cause of absenteeism is to be found in the type of work. To begin with, it should be mentioned that workers settle down better in industrial undertakings than on the plantations—probably because in the factories they feel they have drawn closer to the European employees, that they have surmounted yet another of the barriers separating them from the

Whites; whereas on the plantations they feel—as they told me quite frankly—that they are doing ‘nigger work’. The proportion of absenteeism varies, however, from one factory or plantation to another and, other things being equal, the work itself appears to be the deciding factor.

It has now become a truism to say that in factories the extent to which a worker settles down depends on his degree of skill. In factories, too, night work is particularly unpopular, and absenteeism is rife among employees on night shift. On the plantations, the unskilled work, such as weeding, or keeping the plants in straight rows, does much to unsettle the employees. There are two reasons for this: in the villages, such work has always been left to women; and on the plantations, employers have always given it to the weakest and least skilled men—thus bringing the work itself into disrepute, a fact of which the men are keenly aware. On the other hand, the teams employed to cut down trees and clear the ground for the enlargement of the plantations show a most satisfactory enthusiasm for their work, although it is much the hardest, most dangerous and most exhausting of all types of agricultural labour. This popularity is due to the fact that work of this kind has always been done by men; moreover, many Europeans regard forest clearance as one of their finest tasks, and this certainly affects their attitude towards the workers they employ. It is equally certain that it creates a desirable psychological atmosphere for the work.

There is another factor which should perhaps not be underestimated. Like most plantation work, forest clearance is made up of clearly-defined tasks. The African is always anxious to know exactly how much work is expected of him in a particular job, and how long it is to take: and this cannot always be predicted in other types of agricultural work.

Proximity of Negro Villages

This is a factor which usually has an unfavourable effect upon workers employed on the plantations. In the equatorial province, for instance, absenteeism is encouraged, for various reasons, by the proximity of the villages from which the employees come.

The first reason is that their wives often leave the camp and return to the village—because they are summoned back, because they are cultivating a plot of land there, or because they have some other reason for staying at home. In such cases, the worker often leaves his job—either because he wants to see how his wife’s crop is coming along, or because he feels he ought to keep an eye on her personally! In the Mayumbe district (province of Léopoldville) the proximity of the Negro villages produces this effect chiefly towards the middle of the dry season, when the workers go home to repair their huts before the rains begin. On several plantations in the Eastern Province (Stanleyville) the workers go off as soon as they are paid, to hand over their money to their families at home.

Several agricultural concerns have realized the extreme importance of this question of proximity and have tried, usually with success, to reconstruct the entire Negro village on their own concession. In thus replacing the camp, which workers rarely like, by the village, they get rid of one cause of absenteeism.

The problem is more serious in the palm plantations than in the rubber plantations, for workers who go away for any of the above reasons can usually

be sure of making up the wages they forfeit by their absence. When they get back to the village they need only cut the fruits from the palm trees and take them to the nearest purchasing station. Even if this belongs to the concern by which they are employed, they can rely on selling their produce.

The proximity of the home gives rise to precisely the type of absenteeism which employers find most difficult to prevent—frequent, temporary, absenteeism, which disorganizes the work to an even greater extent than desertion or long absence. And geographical considerations, combined with the effect of the regulations governing the recruitment of labour, usually lead employers to hire their workers locally.

Proximity of Large Towns

Here the problem is one of abandonment of jobs and general instability of the labour market, rather than of absenteeism properly so called. Undertakings (especially plantations) situated in the neighbourhood of Europeanized towns, or of African settlements attached to such towns, find that their chief handicap in this respect is the workers' tendency to move to such places. I will not enter into the various reasons why they do this, but merely point out that the attraction exists.

Other Causes of Absenteeism

Under this heading I have listed a number of causes which came to my notice, but which are less far reaching in their effect than those already mentioned.

Gambling: In about ten of the plantations I visited, gambling was a positive scourge. The workers stake their pay, lose it, and are disheartened—especially as they find that absentees, both those who have dropped their work altogether and those who are simply slacking, spend their entire time practising the games concerned, then fleece the workers and live very largely at their expense!

Food Supplies: In some districts, despite the efforts made by the employers and the measures introduced by the authorities, food supplies are unsatisfactory. If the workers are given, in kind, the legal rations which form part of their pay, the situation is considerably improved. But for some years they have been demanding money instead of rations, and in most cases the authorities and the employers have been obliged to give way. If local food supplies are scarce, the men go hunting and fishing, to obtain 'extras' which they greatly appreciate. The employer very often does much to help them, but the urge to improve their diet frequently results, nevertheless, in their dropping their work for two or three days, to go hunting in the bush. This cause of absenteeism is too important to be ignored.

Policy Regarding Breaches of Contract: At present, penalties are incurred by Negroes who commit a breach of their work contract.¹

¹ Three decrees making this a punishable offence are in force in the Belgian Congo and in Ruanda-Urundi: decree of 16 March 1922, relating to work contracts, Articles 46-53, Chapter IX, dealing with repressive measures; decree of 11 January 1926, relating to indentures, Article 29, Chapter VIII; decree of 1 April 1933, relating to work contracts for boatmen, Articles 28-35, Section III. This decree stipulates that the penalties mentioned in the decree of 16 March 1922 shall be applicable to Negroes employed on the waterways.

During the last few years, under the influence of the liberal principles advocated by the International Labour Organisation, the idea has been gaining ground in Belgium that these penalties should be abolished. The colonial authorities have not so far taken any steps to rescind them, but the law courts in the Belgian Congo are adopting an increasingly lenient policy in this respect. The result is—most unfortunately—that the workers are beginning to consider that their contracts cease to be binding from the moment they feel inclined to stop work. This feeling helps to account for the increase of absenteeism in the Belgian Congo—especially as the public prosecutor often refuses to apply the existing regulations, anticipating that they will soon be altered.

So far I have dealt with absenteeism as a prominent factor in the instability of the labour market in the Belgian Congo, illustrating its extent by a number of examples, some of which contribute not only to absenteeism but to permanent withdrawal from employment.

In addition to this factor, which in itself would repay further investigation, there are others, among which I would include *inflated wages, lack of vocational training among Negro workers, and the behaviour of white overseers.*

INFLATED WAGES

During the post-war boom in the building trade, particularly in the larger towns of the colony, contractors began to offer workmen wages and remuneration in kind on a scale which attracted them in large numbers, thus disorganizing the labour market. This also led to an extraordinary waste of manpower, for as labour was comparatively cheap, these contractors hired their workers *en masse*, even if they were completely unskilled. This same policy of inflated wages has been adopted, to a varying extent, in other branches of activity.

LACK OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

This also helps to unsettle the workers. So far there has been no effective organization of vocational training in the Belgian Congo, and school trained workers were soon heavily outnumbered by Negroes from the villages, who had to be recruited and employed after the war because of the rapid economic expansion.

Many of these men were workers only in name. Apprenticeship and vocational training courses were organized for them in several enterprises. But the sociological and psychological factors whose persistence I have already described came into play and were responsible for an immense amount of disturbance in the labour market.

THE BEHAVIOUR OF WHITE WORKERS

Colonial authorities and private employers in the Belgian Congo recruit as few European overseers as possible, because of the high salaries they are

obliged to pay them. It is generally agreed, however, that the overseers have a decisive influence on the attitude of the African workers. Lack of supervision and inadequate technical guidance result in low output and this in its turn unsettles the workers. Matters are often made worse by the employment of insufficiently trained European workers in the lower grades, since their behaviour frequently causes the Negroes to give up their jobs.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN WORKER IN THE GABOON AND THE CONGO

G. BALANDIER

The region of the Gaboon and the Middle Congo, where, between 1948 and 1951, I carried out a survey and took steps to encourage certain practical reforms, is one whose economic and social development presents great difficulties. Not that the peoples living in this region are exceptionally backward from the cultural standpoint: in certain respects, owing to their long-established direct and indirect relations with the West, they seem better prepared than the larger national groups of West Africa to embark upon the 'modern' tasks which now confront them. The difficulty is due rather to geographical and historical causes. This area has an extremely sparse population (hardly more than a million inhabitants); distances are considerable and communications, right up to recent years, poor, while improvements—such as the Congo-Océan railway—have been very costly. The physical hardships and material difficulties inseparable from life in the equatorial zone have also to be reckoned with. There are only two areas with a comparatively 'dense' population—the Ba-Kongo country in the neighbourhood of Brazzaville (with 12-15 inhabitants per square kilometre) and the Wole-Ntem, bordering on the Cameroons, where Fang peasants have recently established cocoa plantations (over five inhabitants per square kilometre).

Moreover, the peoples occupying this territory suffered heavily in former times from the slave trade, which reduced the population and led to many tribal wars. They have also felt the repercussions of the trading methods of more modern times, which gave rise, until quite recently, to a considerable flow of population towards the trading posts and to fierce competition for monopolies. Instability still characterizes most communities in the Gaboon-Congo region. It has been intensified by colonization, which, through its need to recruit labour, was responsible for a rush to the towns which it made no attempt to stem—with the result that in the Middle Congo, one out of every five inhabitants is now living either temporarily or permanently in a town.

Economic development is retarded by what may be called 'indigenous' obstacles. These, as already explained, include—in addition to the serious difficulties so liberally provided by nature itself in the equatorial zone—under-population, the impermanent character of the local communities, and an

economic system which has been based since remote times, at least so far as the male population is concerned, more on barter and the acquisition of commodities for bartering than on agriculture. But the difficulties inherent in the economic activities of colonists must also be taken into account. Until recently, barter—conducted through the medium of the 'Sociétés' and of a number of middlemen—was the chief occupation in the region. Not until after 1920 was the timber (*okumé*) industry developed on an extensive scale; mining did not begin until after 1930, when the first important lines of communication were being opened up (one mining company was formed at an earlier date, but it soon lapsed into inactivity). It is in the public works enterprises, in the logging and mining camps, that the villagers—in large numbers and without passing through a transitional stage—gain their first experience of wage earning. These types of work employ a large quantity of labour, but provide a minimum of training. This has an inevitable effect on the behaviour of the African worker who 'emerges' from such activities. Any survey of his problems, such as is required before practical action can be taken, must be based on an understanding of this situation.

In an under-populated country, where there is a local shortage of manpower (in the neighbourhood of a given industry) coupled with a comparatively high demand, there are only three possible methods of supplying requirements—by compulsion (the policy of 'drafting' labour), by calling in help from outside, or by introducing technical improvements, which has been the tendency for the past ten years. Taking our examples from the Gaboon, we will now consider how manpower problems have affected village communities by disturbing their demographic structure, contributed towards the growth of a proletariat, and given rise to a policy of direct or indirect compulsion which has been maintained over a long period.

Until the present day, when the whole process is being mechanized, the timber industry required from 20,000 to 30,000 workers, known as 'hired hands'. This demand was made upon a country with only 420,000 inhabitants, where manpower was needed for other purposes as well. A rough estimate, based on the age groups generally recruited—men between the ages of 20 and 40—will show that this number of workers represents the total number of males in that age group in a population of 150,000 to 180,000. Over 40 per cent of the population of the Gaboon was thus affected by the demands of the lumber camps; this figure gives some idea of the contribution provided by communities outside the area of the industry.

The local authorities were quick to realize the demographic and social consequences of this policy, which adversely affected the inhabitants of the Gaboon without satisfying the requirements of the contractors. The annual report for 1928 states that 'much remains to be done in order to compensate for the decrease in the native population which has resulted from the large-scale recruitment of labour'. It refers to the 'grave consequences' of this 'emigration', saying that 'family life is completely disorganized when the grown men leave their villages, to work in industries on the coast'. In addition to all this, there were growing up alongside these industries so-called *villages de vagabonds* (shanty towns), the spread of which was contributing to the growth of a very unstable proletariat.

Furthermore, the voracious demands of the timber industry are directed almost entirely towards unskilled labour; the villagers are uprooted, without being permanently settled in a new sphere of activity, and without receiving

any training. As recently as 1950, according to figures published by the Inspectorate of Labour, more than 80 per cent of the labour force in the Gaboon were unskilled manual workers and only 13 per cent so-called skilled workers—these percentages cover all types of activity, some of which are less ‘primary’ than the timber industry.

A further example may be drawn from one particular district—that of the administrative area of Ngounia (Gaboon), which is both a ‘reserve of manpower’ and an industrial zone. In 1950, the total number of wage earners employed in the mines and lumber camps of this area amounted to 23 per cent of the adult male population over 15 years of age, while during the previous ten years nearly 18,000 men had left the district to work elsewhere. This illustrates the high proportion of wage earners in the region, and the cost in terms of male population to regions which abide by the traditional ways of life. The study of economic motivations and incentives can be undertaken only in conjunction with a thorough investigation of the circumstances in which a peasant becomes a wage earning worker, and the opportunities available to him in this sphere. According to my own observations in the southern part of French Equatorial Africa—which were confirmed by my colleague, G. Sautter, the geographer—there is every reason to suppose that ‘jungle’ enterprises find great difficulty in keeping their workers—especially since the introduction of the new laws of 1946, which, by recognizing the principle of freedom of employment, have diminished the possibility of recourse to coercion. It should be added that the ‘social welfare’ measures adopted by certain agricultural and mining undertakings in the Middle Congo have done little to reduce this tendency to drift. Once ‘uprooted’, the peasant makes his way by gradual stages, through one industrial job after another, towards one of the big urban centres. It is to these, therefore, that a considerable part of this survey will be devoted: they undoubtedly attract like a magnet. For this purpose I shall draw upon the results of my survey of the ‘Black Brazzavilles’,¹ by which I mean the African towns of Poto-Poto, Wenzé and Baongo, bordering on the white town.

Let us consider the situation of the wage earner in these towns.

The two main criticisms suggested by a perusal of the Inspectorate of Labour’s reports are that the labour market is in a state of continual flux—the comparative stability referred to above characterizes the urban population, but is not reflected in urban business enterprises—and that skilled workers are very rare. There is, incidentally, an inescapable connexion between these two facts.

The state of flux is due to the very nature of salaried employment in Africa, and to the particular types of economy which exist in this region. The Negro is forced into wage earning by an ever-growing need of money, by the rapid disappearance of traditional methods of subsistence, and by the necessity of paying his taxes; the wage he receives is very low, whereas his financial requirements are becoming more and more numerous. In the towns, the worker’s chief incentive is the desire to obtain the best paid work available; and to this end the more ambitious go to the Belgian Congo to get some type of special training in demand at Brazzaville. In most cases, wages and purchasing power are not high enough to attract the workers. This is shown by the efforts they make to obtain the better paid jobs, as mechanics, chauffeurs, etc., and by the

A survey carried out during my visit to the Congo and the Gaboon, from 1948 to 1951.

comparative stability in this class of employment. Many prefer not to take permanent jobs; they hope to get back to their villages, for varying periods, or to establish themselves in some form of commercial activity which is not only profitable, but satisfies their need of freedom. This is another cause of mobility, originating in the system of barter which was for a long time the dominant feature of the local economy. It emphasizes the fundamental weakness of a labour market which is in itself precarious and subject to fluctuation because it is governed by purely external circumstances.

The reaction of workers to the reforms introduced since 1945 is significant. The report drawn up in 1947 by the General Inspectorate of Labour stresses the following factors: insufficient attraction of salaried work, 'because the advantages it offers are regarded as inadequate, compared with the effort involved and the profits which accrue'; refusal to subscribe to long-term engagements, which are governed by arbitrary contracts. Here the report explains that: 'In urban centres, the tendency to accept employment only for brief periods developed at a much earlier date. It is due to the fact that in such places workers were, and still are, drawn from a large floating population, difficult to supervise and, on the whole, reluctant to accept regular, long-term work. Employers thus became accustomed to hiring manual labourers on a day-to-day basis. . . . Skilled workers, though tending to remain longer in their jobs, have always objected to signing long-term contracts, which offered them no appreciable advantages in exchange for their independence.'¹ This document calls attention to the role of urban centres as reserves of manpower, and the failure of the workers to adapt themselves to town life and steady employment—a failure resulting from the conditions of that employment.

Surveys conducted among workers at Brazzaville show that about 50 per cent of them would like to change their jobs—with the exception of the shopkeepers and fishermen, who are satisfied with their comparatively high profits. This desire springs from the hope of finding employment which will enable them to 'live better', or which will confer a certain prestige, or by the wish to have several strings to their bow and thus stand a better chance in periods of depression. During the survey I carried out in co-operation with various technical departments, it was found that manual labour was regarded by almost all workers as 'the worst', because it meant hard work for the lowest wage, and earned no esteem for the worker. This sheds an interesting light on the problem of the influence of local conditions on the choice of employment. The most 'attractive' professions are those involving the new techniques introduced by Europeans—civil service and teaching (clerk, schoolmaster), health (nurse, doctor, laboratory assistant), mechanization (chauffeur, tractor driver, mechanic, etc.). And these, being the fields in which the whites have proved themselves to be superior, and in which they predominate, are all the more alluring, since they seem to be reserved for a privileged minority. This fact is mentioned in the official reports: 'Experience has shown that Negroes find a unique attraction in machines—to such an extent that they lose interest in other activities of outstanding importance, such as building or carpentry.'² Moreover, the first observations, made in various parts of Africa, go to show that Negro workers are very efficient in dealing with machines.³

¹ Inspection Générale du Travail: *Rapport Annuel 1947*. Chapter on Labour Laws.

² Inspection Générale du Travail: *Rapport Annuel 1949*. Annexes.

³ Unpublished report on possibilities of industrialization in Africa, drawn up by the International African Institute, London.

For a long time it was maintained that 'progressive' Africans were interested only in 'white-collar' jobs. This was true only when office work was the sole alternative to domestic service or manual labour—in which circumstances it was natural that they should prefer it.

These inclinations are hard to satisfy under the present economic and social system: in the course of the survey already mentioned, many of those questioned admitted that they 'had not been able to get other work', or 'learn any other job', or 'go to school'. An analysis of wage earning in the Middle Congo, where the towns of Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire provide the majority of the statistics, serves to illustrate this point:¹ domestic servants, 4.5 per cent; clerical workers, 7.5 per cent; technicians and skilled labourers, 25.5 per cent; unskilled labourers, 62.5 per cent.

To these particulars should be added the fact that salaried employees in the 'management and supervision' category make up less than 1 per cent of the total of African workers, and that, like many of the clerical workers, they are often foreigners.

All this points to what is described, in official parlance, as 'an excessive proportion of unskilled workers', and raises the question of vocational training. What demand is there for trained personnel, and what attempts have been made to satisfy them? The answer to this question is supplied in part by the information given above, concerning the economic situation in this part of Central Africa: owing to the lack of industrial equipment and the prevalence, until recent years, of the system of barter, such a demand hardly existed until 1945, when the so-called ten-year plan was put into operation. As for the training of skilled personnel, the reports drawn up during the emergency period which followed that date refer with some bitterness to 'the negligence shown by many employers, during the past few years, in training and supervising their workmen'.² In connexion with this remark, it should be remembered that technical training, whether government-organized or in private hands, was of very poor quality, no attempt to place it on a sound footing having been made until 1937, when the vocational training school at Brazzaville was reorganized. This establishment is still the only real school of its kind; and except for the apprenticeship centre at Pointe-Noire—which had 266 pupils in 1950-51—it is the largest. In 1950-51 there were 190 pupils divided among the three sections (industrial, technical and commercial) of which the school has consisted since 1946. The future prospects of these pupils vary considerably, according to whether they enter government or private employment. Figures issued by the Inspectorate of Labour show that in the former case they receive much higher salaries (7,000 as against 3,000 francs, in 1949-50), together with special allowances, and have good prospects. The contrast, says the report, gives rise to 'grave dissatisfaction, which may result in aversion for manual work'.³ This remark is illuminating: the existing enterprises have as yet no need for highly-skilled workers. Only the building trade and the public works undertakings have a great need of 'specialists' at the moment, to meet the demands of the plan. This accounts for the eight-month 'intensive vocational training courses' offered by the four industrial 'sections' (masonry and bricklaying, reinforced concrete, timber

¹ Inspection du Travail du Moyen Congo, *Rapport Annuel 1949*.

² Inspection Générale du Travail: *Rapport Annuel 1947*.

³ Inspection Générale du Travail: *Rapport Annuel 1949*.

work, carpentry) which were set up as an emergency measure. These are the consequences of an economic system which was for long in a state of stagnation, and which owes its new lease of life entirely to the exceptional circumstances of the present post-war period.

Further proof that vocational training has been neglected is furnished by the numerous cases of 'casual' apprenticeship, where boys go to some older worker, who may be only semi-skilled, to receive a smattering of instruction for which a high payment is often asked. This practice exists among carpenters, brick-layers, cobblers, tailors, chauffeurs, and even typists. But it is the chauffeurs who find it the most profitable, because of the attraction exerted by their work—which entails handling a machine and dealing with travellers and goods, and offers the possibility of taking on many apprentices.

In such circumstances it is naturally difficult to assess the workers' output or the quality of their work. The Inspectorate of Labour describes the situation as 'characterized by lack of diligence, great changeability, and an average output which is usually much below that of a European worker in the same type of employment'.¹ The report at once goes on to say, however, that this cannot be due only to physiological causes. It admits that the workers are insufficiently prepared for their tasks, makes a brief reference to the effect upon them of having left their familiar surroundings, which in the majority of cases is a very recent event, and states that 'the African worker is unfamiliar with the technical methods and the tools used by his European colleagues, and he is not accustomed, by tradition, to work to a time-table'. This latter observation, like all statements concerning the output of Negro workers, points to the need for certain specific investigations—an example of which was provided by Dr. Ombredane in the Belgian Congo, when he called for a comparison between incentives in familiar surroundings and surroundings where white influence predominates. His report draws attention to fundamental points of contrast: 'Contrary to the practice in familiar surroundings, the wage we offer the Negro depends on his output in a job which tends to be continuous for fixed intervals, which is organized, imposed upon him and supervised by others and is often so fragmentary and ant-like that its ultimate value is hardly apparent to those who do it'.²

Dr. Ombredane also emphasizes that the African worker remains alien to the task imposed upon him and to the undertaking which makes use of his services; he 'is seldom a permanent part of the undertaking for which he works; in most cases he remains an alien and unstable element'. This absence of interest accounts for the lack of diligence of which employers complain, and which is even more marked among manual labourers than among skilled workers. At Brazzaville, according to a very rough estimate, absenteeism varies 'from 8 to 12 per cent—a very high percentage.

In view of all these unfavourable circumstances, some of which must be attributed to unfamiliar surroundings and the rest to a backward economic system, the question of the incentive provided by wages becomes important. The Inspectorate of Labour's reports indicate that 'in the great majority of cases, increased output has little effect on wages'; and that, furthermore, workers usually have but slight interest in receiving better pay, 'as they can

¹ Inspection Générale du Travail : *Rapport Annuel 1949. Annexes*.

² Dr. A. Ombredane, 'Principes pour une étude psychologique des Noirs du Congo Belge', in *L'Année Psychologique*, 50th year, 1951.

seldom buy what they want in the market to which they have access'. This raises the question of the relation between wages and the prices in the market where the Negroes have to buy. Broad statements of this kind must, however, be qualified: one experiment carried out at Brazzaville showed that an appreciable rise in salary may lead to a proportionately higher increase in output. One undertaking which hires casual labour has two work sites, on one of which it pays the legal wage rate, while on the other it offers from 20 to 25 per cent above the legal rates. Output is notably higher in the latter case, and the difference exceeds 25 per cent. No appreciable improvement in output can be expected without greater security for the worker; and present insecurity is due not only to the state of flux in the labour market, but also to the low purchasing power of money and the lack of an adequate welfare service.

Added to all this, it should be observed that the bonds created by team work are still very fragile, and are often broken by long-standing antagonisms based on ethnical factors. This instability is due in great part to the preference for short-term employment, the recent origin and doubtful duration of many undertakings, and the high proportion of 'new' citizens in the towns. From the topographical point of view it is reflected in the fact that the population shows no tendency to sort itself into occupational groups—no such groups are being formed, even in the newest parts of the towns. Except in the case of the railway workers, who live together in a special camp—which, incidentally, has helped them to develop a certain interest in their work as such, and has led to a comparatively successful trade union movement among them—the chief impression is that the wage earners, as a body, are widely dispersed and exert very little influence. The difficulties encountered by the trade union movement (suspect at first, as being a type of organization introduced by the colonizing power, and later divided against itself by individualistic tendencies) are significant.

It is not enough to consider only those difficulties which arise from the peculiar features of the wage system and the modernized sector of economy in an underdeveloped country. Cultural conditions must also be taken into account—and anthropologists have been active in investigating them. Economic progress among African Negroes may be seriously impeded by the persistence of certain types of behaviour, or of methods of organization which are not really adequate.

The Fang tribe, in the Gaboon, shows a 'maladjustment' which is due to the survival of a traditional attitude towards wealth. The social structure of this people is fairly flexible, individual eminence being more regarded than constituted authority; for instance a rich man (*nkuma-kuma*) enjoys so much respect that strangers are apt to take him for the local chief. But wealth here consists chiefly of wives (a local proverb says 'Our wives are our real wealth') and of goods locked up in chests, which may in a sense be considered as 'potential wives', since they help to make up the dowry. A good deal of the tribal income undoubtedly comes into circulation in the first place in the form of dowries, and these are governed by local fluctuations in prices. Now that money is being earned by an increasing number of individuals, competition for wives is intensified, and the dowry figure is constantly rising, while involuntary bachelors are becoming more and more numerous. Once the system under which wealth and women were kept in circulation has been thus disturbed, it causes more discontent and strife than satisfaction. However, it still remains, as one young Fang writer puts it, 'the starting point and the goal of

Fang economy'. This tips the scales in a way which discourages the economic activity of the young men, who are the first to suffer from the situation. The resultant lack of balance is typical of a society where the production of human beings (the size of the social group which one person controls either directly or by 'alliance') has remained more important than the production of property and the amount of controlled wealth. This is not an isolated case.

A second type of maladjustment occurs because traditional forms of authority (a maternal uncle's authority over his nephew, the authority of an alder over a younger brother, etc.) are often exerted in such a way as to bring about the economic exploitation of the dominated person. The same applies to traditional rights over women which, where they are maintained, give scope for 'blackmailing' the husband with perpetual requests for 'presents'. Families (in the widest sense of the word) and 'associates' invoke tradition to justify their claim to a considerable proportion of an individual's income. Economic activity is, of course, discouraged rather than stimulated by this 'commercialization' of social relationships.

These are only two typical examples of unfavourable factors. But it should be remembered that favourable factors exist as well. Reference to traditional customs may bring to light methods of organization which can be adapted without great difficulty to the new economic conditions. This has been the case with the *Ki-temo* evolved by the Ba-kongo, the practical value of which has been proved by the many services it has rendered. I should like, therefore, to give a somewhat detailed description of this type of economic organization, which is known chiefly as a savings association.

The *mwan'a temo*¹ members of such an association vary in number from the 3 to 4 needed to form a 'little temo' to the 10 to 20 of a 'big temo'; they all pay in an equal sum, the amount of which, and the frequency of the payments (fortnightly or monthly), are fixed in the light of their financial position and their aims. Workers earning an average wage usually organize '500-franc' or '1,000-franc' temos, to be paid in at the end of each month; while tradesmen and certain government employees manage to make deposits amounting to several thousand francs. Strict discipline is maintained; fines are imposed for delay, and if any member cannot pay his contribution, he must either find someone to take his place, or borrow the necessary sum.

The chief purpose of such an association is to build up a sum giving a higher purchasing power than that of the individual members; to oblige the members to save, by means of strict discipline; and to protect them from extortionate money-lenders by a system of mutual assistance. But the *mwan'a temo* often gets into debt in order to keep up his contributions and has to use his share, when he receives it, to pay his debts. The preliminary condition for the establishment of such an association is that the prospective members all need to build up a capital sum within a relatively short period—to put the finishing touches to a dowry, pay for a fence, build or repair a hut, etc. Members must all be of the same tribe (the association is confined to natives of the Ba-kongo) and there must be a certain affinity between them, so that they trust one another. According to tradition, the member who receives all the contributions must provide the palm-wine which is drunk by the entire company, in token of the sacred nature of the pledges given and of the alliance into which they have entered. This attempt to adapt tradition to the new economic circumstances

¹ *Mwan'a temo*, child of the temo.

helps to strengthen the bonds of fellowship the importance of which has already been indicated. Mr. H. Labouret emphasizes the fact that 'urban sedentary workers have (thus) brought with them to the towns those sentiments of fellowship and interdependence which are highly developed in most local communities'.

It is interesting to note the changes resulting from this transference to town conditions: the *temo* ceremonial has been simplified, losing its solemn and formal aspect and becoming a commonplace instead of an exceptional event. The average number of members has decreased, and the links between them have lost much of their significance. These were originally intended to mark the establishment of friendly business relations between former enemies.¹ Later, they developed into a kind of mutual assistance among planters, to raise sums for capital expenditure. This type of *temo* is widespread in a number of Ba-kongo and Ba-soundi villages, and in some cases is not unlike a commercial partnership. Some of the younger Ba-kongo men are now considering the possibility of transforming the *ki-temo* into a co-operative society. All this shows that the system is highly diversified, but its permanent characteristics are the pooling of wealth on a basis of complete solidarity, with interchange of assurances, and—still more important—the provision of a traditional framework which inspires confidence and involves the 'partners' in commitments which they clearly understand.

It is not possible to consider the problem of economic motivations and incentives as an isolated one, merely in the light of its psychological and cultural implications (inasmuch as culture tends to be defined, to an ever-increasing extent, in terms of behaviour). It needs a thorough investigation, which can only be undertaken with an exact knowledge of the economic conditions resulting from European interference and after a precise assessment of the present state of the society to which the African worker belongs. No full description of the impediments and adaptations which are affecting the economic activity of the Negroes can be provided without a comprehensive survey of that society; and the anthropological method is of great value here, since it deals with the question in all its aspects. The need for such an approach is evident—in African Negro communities everything may be said to hinge on economics and religion.

Moreover, the need for a comprehensive investigation, covering all the subjects concerned, is increased by the fact that indissoluble bonds exist between the 'traditional' and 'modernist' environments, each of which reacts on the other. This gives rise to a further problem, which cannot be considered here: how is the transition to be made from this comprehensive study—dealing with subjects not all equally susceptible of generalization—to the advancing of any really significant theory?

¹ This is indicated by the appointment of two 'leaders of the *temo*' each of whom collects contributions from one of the 'sides', a method (which is still compulsory in some villages), and by the fact that contributions are brought to the market-place, the official scene of reconciliations, to be handed over.

POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF RECENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS AMONG THE ESKIMOS OF THULE

J. MALAURIE

Until 1951 the polar Eskimos living in the region of Thule, on the north-west coast of Greenland, between latitudes 76 N. and 79 N., offered an interesting example of an archaic and comparatively isolated community—a surviving fragment of the past, as it were. The recent establishment of an American military base in the very heart of this tribe's territory has created a situation the results of which merit investigation, more especially as the future of the community is uncertain.

I spent over a year among the Thule Eskimos, making a survey from a purely geographical point of view, and by travelling a great deal in the region, collected much interesting information regarding means of subsistence, family incomes, the psychology of the Eskimo compared with that of the Greenlander, and vital statistics. But the conclusions to be drawn apply, of course, only to that particular area. Thule is undoubtedly an extreme case, in which physical factors are of decisive importance. Since the Eskimos live on the outskirts of the inhabited world, leading a necessarily precarious existence, their scope for adaptation is small and their creative capacity reduced to a minimum. I have no intention, therefore, of suggesting that these conclusions are universally valid; they apply only within the Arctic Circle, and to a certain part of that region.

It has long been realized that a problem arises when a primitive society is introduced to our forms of civilization. But the possible solutions of that problem have not always been very clearly described. In any case, a purely sociological approach to the question of contact and interaction between human communities differing in technological structure would lead us far astray if it were not preceded by a geographical study of the area concerned. An economic assessment of the situation and of ways in which it can be exploited has to be drawn up, and it may be thought desirable to attempt a geographical, or, one might say, oecological classification in preference to any other. Regional divisions are in the first place a matter of topology, and a civilization results in the first place from acclimatization in some particular spot. Since the 'real needs' of the Thule group are primarily material ones, and since their satisfaction is a prior condition of any social or cultural progress, this report does not deal with such social, religious or political phenomena as might be engendered by planned development. Such phenomena must, of course, be foreseen; and if given their rightful place in the general system they might lead to appreciable modification of the arguments here set forth.

The small tribe of polar Eskimos (it has only 302 members), in the most northern of all human communities, is cut off from southern Greenland by Melville Bay, and from Baffin Island and Ellesmere Island by Lancaster Sound, Jones Sound and Smith Sound. In 1950 it was living in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world.

Range of movement is restricted, and sustained contact with neighbouring

countries prevented, by variations in the condition of the ice due to the warming of the Arctic waters. This primitive civilization has seldom, in the course of its history, been able to enjoy the stimulating and enriching results of contact with peoples of differing culture. These Eskimos come, in all probability, from the south-west (Baffin Island). Recent studies devoted to them—and in particular to their music¹—suggest that they are of American, not of Paleo-Asiatic origin, and that at some fairly remote period they were in touch with the Red Indians. In all likelihood, these northern nomads were settled on the coast of Smith Sound by the twelfth, or at latest the thirteenth century, if not before the year 1000. At a very early stage, the tribe—which was thus living on the route by which all Eskimos migrating from Canada travelled to the east and west coasts of Greenland—was cut off from the west coast (Upernivik, visited fairly regularly by Europeans). As is to be expected at this latitude, the climate is extremely harsh, with three months of darkness during the winter and only three months (June, July and August) with an average temperature above zero centigrade. The population is semi-nomadic, and has retained its traditional economic system, which was for a long period entirely self-sufficient. This is based on hunting, and is closely linked with local resources—walrus, seal, fox, an occasional bear, narwhal (these last are gradually disappearing). It might thus be supposed that their margin of existence is narrow, but this is not the case. They follow a system of semi-stocking and planned economy, and as they are few and their needs are small, the margin is quite adequate. Though it is difficult to estimate how many people could subsist on the available resources, it seems not unreasonable to estimate that if the standard of living remained low and hunting and fishing continued to be strictly regulated, the population could be doubled. Natural resources are varied and, in comparison with those on other parts of the Greenland coast, fairly considerable. A study of the incomes—in money and in kind—of the chief families in each village gives an approximate level which is much higher than that of the tribes in the southern regions of Upernivik and Umanak, who have a similar economic system. This is due to certain hydrographic and climatic conditions. Moreover, in such a thinly-populated area, hunting becomes really profitable. And thinly-populated it certainly is—with 0.1 inhabitants per kilometre of coastline (1923), as against 0.51 per kilometre for the whole inhabited part of Greenland, and 0.89² for Julianehaab, the largest colony on the west coast.

Thanks to all these different factors, the colony of Thule is one of the most flourishing of Eskimo communities. This prosperity is reflected in its finances. During a single year (March 1950 to March 1951), the sale of skins and related products at the trading posts brought in 75,748 krone,³ unequally divided between 70 to 75 families. Until recently, therefore, Thule was one of the few settlements of Eskimo hunters in Greenland, if not in the whole of the Arctic, whose budget showed a large credit balance.

Before entering upon a description of the way of life of the Thule Eskimos, it will perhaps be advisable to give a few dates. The tribe was discovered in 1818 by John Ross, but had no prolonged or formative relations with the outer

¹ Ch. Leden, 'Ueber die Musik der Smith Sund Eskimos und ihre Verwandtschaft mit der Musik der Amerikanischen Indianer', *Medd. Om Gronland* nr. 3, Copenhagen, 1952.

² K. Birket-Smith, *Greenland*, Copenhagen, 1928.

³ One krone = One English shilling.

world until visited by Robert E. Peary during the series of Polar expeditions which he carried out between 1892 and 1909. The first permanent trading station was established by Rasmussen in 1910, but it was not until 1937 that the Danish Government assumed official responsibility for the territory. The whole population is now Christian, the last member having been baptized in 1934.

This group of 302 persons provides a typical example of an isolated community: and while this is in itself a question of genetics, it has to be considered in connexion with an essentially demographic problem—that of the actual survival of so small a group.

'A study of vital statistics in small, isolated areas points to the conclusion that stability and continuity can be maintained only where there are more than 500 inhabitants. Isolated groups of between 300 and 550 inhabitants are in an unbalanced state, from which they may either achieve stability or rapidly disappear.'¹

A careful analysis² of the structure of the population in Thule indicates that these figures are too hard and fast, and should be modified. It is, however, true that the demographic situation of the tribe has always been precarious. It had 253 members in 1893, 207 in 1908, and 251 in 1923. The population is thus now slightly increasing, at the rate of 0.8 per cent per annum. Lengthy contact with whites has lowered resistance to disease. Tuberculosis has developed. Moreover, owing to considerable in-breeding, cases of deformity, though not numerous, are sufficiently frequent to have an economic effect (being a burden on the community).

The level of population is maintained only by a narrow margin. The birth rate is 173 per 1,000—a low figure for a community with a high marriage rate, and where birth control is unknown. This is to be explained by the unusual prevalence of sterility, due in part to in-breeding. Out of 51 women whose childbearing period was over, eight, or 16 per cent, had proved sterile. The introduction of Christianity may also have helped to lower the birth rate, since it has resulted in strict monogamy and the abolition of sexual promiscuity. In this connexion, the Thule group offers opportunities for investigating a number of problems affecting the structure of a very small population. It sets the problem of the isolated community in a clear light, and provides an interesting opportunity of testing the latest evolutionary theories regarding native peoples inhabiting a limited and sparsely-populated area. The investigation of these theories would certainly be facilitated by the provision of information concerning other isolated groups, especially in the arctic regions of Canada; but so far as I know, this is still very scarce.

One conclusion already emerges: if this tribe is to maintain its 1951 level, a certain amount of cross-breeding or, at best, immigration will be required. In any case, no reduction in the general cost of living (which is rising, because of improved living standards and the construction of public buildings, such as a school and a hospital) will be possible without an appreciable increase in population.

Are economic resources sufficient to allow of this? In other words, what is the optimum population? The impression is that 'the stability of such a

¹ Livio Livi, *Population*, no. 3, 1951, p. 493.

² J. Malaurie, L. Tabah, J. Sutter, 'L'Isolat esquimaux de Thulé', *Population*, Paris, 1952, no. 4, p. 657-93, 7 Bibl. fig.

population is . . . ensured by its maintenance at a level somewhere between the biological minimum and the economic maximum. If it falls below the biological minimum, degeneracy sets in and the birth rate dwindles to vanishing point. If it rises above the economic maximum there is famine,¹ unless the protecting state intervenes.

The Eskimos have for centuries owed their existence to a well-established balance between local resources and their own minimum requirements. For some years past, in the arctic region, this balance has been disturbed—the needs of the population are increasing.

It is to the credit of the Danish Government that it has taken every possible opportunity of using the trading-post—that traditional lever of colonization—to awaken new interests among the inhabitants. The Eskimos have completely surrendered to European customs, and have become yearly more dependent upon fox-trapping from which they obtain their chief element of barter. The introduction of such an economic system in this part of the world was, both from the material and the psychological point of view, quite as revolutionary in its effect as the introduction of Christianity; but many people regarded it as necessary. While the experiment has succeeded in Thule—because the district is rich in game, hunters are few and the administrative authorities vigilant—it is inadvisable except in such conditions, and can in any case provide only a temporary solution. As a means of supplying food—a small-scale system operating in surroundings where productivity is low²—its efficacy is limited, partly because of the natural increase in the population, and partly because of the rise in the standard of living.² For since they came into contact with Europeans, the Eskimos have introduced gradual changes in their diet (increased consumption of margarine, coffee, tea and tobacco) and in their other habits (textiles are replacing seal skins and reindeer hides, wood, fuel oils and coal are being used). Halfway along the road to civilization, they are becoming more exacting, and are no longer to be satisfied with their local resources alone. It is not improbable that, in these economic circumstances, the population will rise above the safe maximum within the fairly near future. If fresh local activities cannot be developed to supplement the traditional economy, the region will soon be over-populated in the Malthusian sense of the term. As the hunting-grounds cannot be indefinitely extended and it is impossible to introduce any activities based on further exploitation of animal life, such as whale fishing or cod fishing, it is already open to speculation whether the future of this handful of human beings does not depend in the last resort—as history has shown in the case of the inhabitants of other barren regions—upon migration to the more fertile sub-arctic borderlands.

The Danish Government is already faced with a similar problem on the west coast of Greenland. Owing to the rise in the temperature of the Baffin Sea, which has caused the seals to migrate, the authorities have encouraged the Greenlanders to transform their manner of life whenever the supply of game is judged to have fallen below an adequate level. Thus, without regard to the traditional social structure, the men have for the past twenty-five years been urged to give up hunting and turn to fishing or stock-breeding. So the half-breed Greenlanders of the next generation, assembled in four or five

¹ P. George, *Introduction à l'étude géographique de la population du monde*, Institut National d'Études démographiques, Paris, 1951, p. 77.

² P. George, *ibid.*

small towns, will, like their Icelandic neighbours, look to fishing or its associated industries to satisfy all their needs.

In the course of this process of development, Denmark is making every effort to teach the natives to guide their own civilization in the right direction, preserving all those individual features which are still of value, such as their language and folklore. In other words, the Government is striving to Europeanize the life of the Eskimos without impoverishing it. This aim cannot, perhaps, be attained in every case, but the urgency of the economic problems must be borne in mind.

Such are the main lines of the policy followed for nearly two and a half centuries on the west coast of this big island, between latitudes 70 N. and 60 N. In the light of the experience thus gained, it has become evident that any study of cultural and social motivations and incentives in an archaic community should always be preceded by an assessment of existing and potential resources, since these must, in the long run, determine what results can be achieved.¹

The disintegration of Eskimo society calls for an assessment of resources—it is a social problem. Even a small fluctuation, caused, for instance, by an epidemic or a food shortage, can place this handful of people in an alarming situation, and, in 1950, I found that from the sociological point of view its structure was equally frail.

The structure of any Eskimo community is, of course, admittedly fragile. In a society which has never developed beyond the embryonic stage, the spread of Christianity and education, the visits—however brief and intermittent—of European expeditions, and the introduction of modern technical processes have set up a condition of latent traumatism. Under the continual impact of these new forces, the traditional methods of tribal government have gradually fallen into disuse; they survived until 1951 only because the Danish authorities, both private and governmental, had wisely refrained—in 1910 and again in 1938—from disturbing the segregated and isolated life of the tribe. To all appearances it still leads a balanced existence, but the real situation is not reassuring.

The traditional religious theories of the people strike them today as untenable. Their legends and beliefs, no longer backed by the authority of the medicine-man, are gradually being forgotten. Relationships within the tribe, having lost their religious implications, are changing. In former times they were based on respect for the most experienced hunter; now they are conditioned, among the young men, by their degree of Europeanization—diplomas, bank accounts, administrative responsibilities. Instead of hunting in parties for bear or walrus, they go out individually to set traps. The spirit of fellowship, which was maintained by common interests, is now declining and giving place to an individualistic and commercial spirit, which, because of the demands of trade, is directed towards the outer world.

In fact, if we follow Lévi-Strauss's suggestion² and consider those 'external characteristics which affect the structure of what we call a primitive society and distinguish it from the type of society we regard as modern or civilized', we are forced to admit that they are no longer to be found in Thule. It may

¹ Similar observations have recently been made in regard to present trends among the Eskimos in Alaska, by Margaret Lantis ('Present Status of the Alaskan Eskimos', *Science in Alaska*. Alaskan Science Conference-Arctic Institute of North America, Washington, June 1952, p. 38-51).

² Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'La Notion d'Archaisme', *Cahiers internationaux de Sociologie*, vol. XII, 1952, p. 7.

seem surprising that in such circumstances development should not have been more marked—until we remember the exceptional isolation of the polar Eskimos, which it has been Government policy to maintain. But no investigator can fail to perceive that, despite its present compact appearance and economic prosperity, the traditional structure of this community is now merely a brittle shell. At any sudden contact with a civilization which is technologically more advanced, the shell may be expected to crack. Labour will then become available for fresh undertakings. And conditions are such as to attract it towards an expanding economic area—though if the attraction is to be sufficiently strong, that area must be in the neighbourhood of the region to which the Eskimos are attached by sentiment.

Such, in very brief outline, was the situation in July 1951, when an American military base—with 10,000 men in the first year, reduced to 5,000 in 1952—was established in Thule itself. Its site was, of course, chosen for strategic rather than economic reasons, and it was purely by chance that this gigantic airfield was created close to an Eskimo settlement. The future will show whether a base situated further north, in a better position from the economic point of view, will not prove more suitable than Thule for civil aviation.

In any case, the construction of this airfield, by complicating the problem of the future of the Thule Eskimos, has hastened the need for investigation. It is hardly necessary to add that this sudden encounter between a small tribe which was still living in the seal age and a mechanized, military civilization has given cause for very serious thought to all concerned. In the course of a few weeks, this community has undergone a positive transformation. Will it be able to draw steady benefit from the change? This depends partly on the adaptability of the people themselves, which we know to be considerable, but partly, too, on the speed with which new native leaders succeed in modernizing the local way of life while preserving some of its essential features. The tribe was saved from disintegration in 1951 because the Danish authorities on the spot, in full agreement with the American commanders of the base, decided to maintain the Eskimos' isolation by putting the airfield, as it were, out of bounds. Moreover, the Eskimos themselves, seized by an instinctive fear—and also because there was no work for them at the base and because they could no longer carry on their ordinary occupations in the immediate neighbourhood of Thule (the water was polluted by petrol, the seals migrated and there was noise and dust)—decided of their own accord to move 200 kilometres further north, to the old village of Kranak.

It must not, however, be supposed that this northward flight will settle the difficulty for very long. There have been some interesting examples of counter-acculturation, but these are bound to be ephemeral. Though the Thule of legend has changed its site, the problem remains to be solved, and time is not on the side of the Eskimos. Increasing needs, the desire for a higher standard of living, and the proximity of the military base will combine, in this reservation, which is not an entirely watertight compartment—no reservation ever is—to bring about the disappearance of this primitive group, regarded as a specific social unit.

If its members are to be integrated, it is highly advisable for their integration to take place before their former social structure has degenerated too far—and they themselves with it. The tests I carried out with schoolage children (Rorschach, the Zazzo cross-out, the Prudhommeau copied drawing), the particulars supplied by the local authorities, and above all the technological

history of this race, reveal the people's extraordinary adaptability (mechanical skill, talent for learning languages, evident willingness). The stage of development they have already reached, together with their natural qualities, suggest that at the present moment they run no risk of being overmodernized. Their integration must, of course, be carefully planned, and too abrupt contacts avoided. It should also be possible to make use of their particular aptitudes—fur-farming, training them as guides for work in the mountains or rescue teams for use in plane crashes—to instruct them and encourage them to specialize. Such a policy, if introduced without delay and carried out with moderation and caution, may perhaps lead to the formation of a new type of Eskimo society.

In view of the limited resources available to these people, and the danger that their tribal structure may collapse as a result of the establishment of the military base, one wonders (though this to some extent contradicts what I have written elsewhere¹) whether the opening of the Arctic to air traffic may not turn out to be providential for the Eskimo people—not in every case, but wherever local resources are insufficient to enable them to eke out a living by adding sea-fishing to hunting: their attachment to their native soil makes them shrink from migrating to any considerable distance. Only in the requirements of the infra-structure can such groups find new and profitable activities through which to satisfy their recently-awakened material and cultural needs. It is sincerely to be hoped that these new developments will not end by creating a situation which it is their specific purpose to prevent²—a situation in which the native population becomes doubly proletarian, having lost its tribal structure without acquiring any vocational qualifications.

THREE INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN PERU

J. MATOS MAR

Peru, like most of the Latin American countries, is considered to be 'under-developed'.³ A third of its 9 million inhabitants eke out a precarious existence and take practically no part in the life of the nation. Owing to their racial and cultural characteristics, this great body of people, commonly known as the Indian population, is only slowly being absorbed into the Peruvian culture, giving rise to a series of cultural adjustments and disadjustments and finally to 'acculturation', a phenomenon which has been characteristic of the country for the last four hundred years but which is taking place in unpropitious circumstances. This process is leading to the development of a mixed, or mestizo, population (both culturally and physically) which is at present

¹ J. Malaurie, 'Problèmes économiques et humains au Groenland. Note sur Thule', *Annales de Géographie*, Paris 1952, vol. 326, p. 291-7.

² G. Balandier, 'Contribution à une sociologie de la dépendance', *Cahiers internationaux de Sociologie*, Paris, 1952, vol. XII, p. 47-9. Cf. p. 57.

³ This expression is used in the sense in which it is employed by the United Nations---'Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries'. Report by a group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, May 1951.

predominant in the country, its members belonging to several different cultural levels. Most of the 3 million people who make up the lower social classes live in 'Indian communities', which are relics of the old 'ayllus' surviving in spite of the disappearance of the institution which brought them into existence and made them vital entities. They are now recognized by the law and, for the past thirty years and more, have been placed under special protection to prevent their disintegration, so that they are no longer in danger from the greed of neighbouring landowners. They are social units which can and should be revivified, for, generally speaking, their present level of production is scarcely sufficient to meet local consumer needs. These communities are at present being studied by Peruvian ethnologists who are preparing a plan for converting them into active centres of production, by taking advantage of the latent energies which in the past helped them to lay the foundations of the old Peruvian culture. If such a plan is to be prepared, it is essential to have the co-operation of teams of specialists in various branches of study —anthropologists, economists, sociologists, agricultural experts, doctors, teachers, psychologists, town planners, engineers, etc. — working closely together in the central government departments and in the villages themselves. The Huarochiri project (in an Indian community in the Department of Lima) is the first experiment along these lines, undertaken partly as a pilot project.

In order to show how far these communities have an organized structure and are prepared for modern life, we shall describe the position in three of them, Muquiyauyo, Tupe and Taquile. Muquiyauyo is considered to be one of the most highly developed communities in Peru. Tupe is the surviving remnant of an old ethno-linguistic group, the Kauke. Taquile, on Lake Titicaca, is the least advanced of the three communities and may be regarded as being still, in 1954, at the stage characteristic of the old Indian communities.

THE ISLAND OF TAQUILE¹

Taquile is a homogeneous community of 650 people living on one of the islands on Lake Titicaca, at an altitude of nearly 12,600 feet. Only two adults and six children speak Spanish, the remainder of the population speaking only Kechua. The native economy is agricultural and the main crop is the potato; for centuries past the people have had the subsistence economy typical of Indian communities. They have only one harvest a year as they have no water for irrigation; the rains are therefore a determining factor in the annual rhythm of their life. The change in the system of landownership which has been going on over the last twenty-five years determines their entire attitude and conduct. Until 1930 all the Indians were simply *colonos* (peons) of absentee mestizo landlords. Since then, as a result of various favourable circumstances, the *colonos* have begun to purchase their own land.

The island, which is about three miles long and one and a quarter wide at the widest part was, in 1580, awarded to a Spaniard, who became its first owner under Spanish law. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it passed into the hands of a series of different owners, and thereafter was transmitted by inheritance until, in 1930, it was divided between eight owners

¹ José Matos, *La propriété dans l'île Taquile*. Extracts from the *Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines*. Vol. III. Paris-Lima, 1951. Rosalia A. Matos, *L'organisation sociale dans l'île de Taquile*. Idem.

who habitually referred to their estates on the island as 'haciendas'. Until that date, small as the estates were, the landlords still received a proportion of the crops. Throughout this long period, the Indians, being treated as *colonos*, were really serfs bound to the soil; they were transferred, with the land and animals, from one owner to another and, even away from the island, were obliged to perform a series of compulsory tasks without payment; *kipu*, *mitani*, *pongo* and *watache* were some of the names given to them according to the work they did. As the estates were split up into units hardly adequate to maintain the Indians themselves, the landowners lost their authority.

The journey to Puno, the nearest town, which was then made on rafts of *totoras* (known as *balsas*) was very tiring; it took fifteen hours to cover the thirty-mile stretch of water. This was one of the main reasons for the isolation of the island and the lack of interest shown by the landowners after a certain time, especially as they derived no great profit from their lands there. This situation encouraged a group of Indians to form a company which, by formal deed, purchased three of the properties on credit; this action was subsequently repeated until there are now only two small properties not belonging to the Indians. Until then the head of each family was simply entitled to a limited area of arable land in each of the four *suyos* into which the island is divided, a house (accompanied by a small *canchon* or vegetable plot) on the estate of which he was a *colono*, and a few animals for his own needs. After the purchase of the land, these traditional rights were maintained and further plots of land were allotted according to the contribution made by each individual. An Indian of exceptional ability was the prime mover in this action and so became the largest landowner on Taquile. This began to make the other Indians distrustful of him and as a result they no longer presented a united front.

Lake Titicaca is subject to periodic fluctuations, its level rising and falling in regular sequence; one of the great falls in its level (sixteen feet in five years) began in 1944, leading to the almost complete disappearance of the *totoras*, a species of *typha* growing on the banks and in the shallows of the lake, which is an extremely important raw material in native industries. At the outset, the disappearance of the *totoras* was a calamity. Owing to the shortage of raw material for building their rafts, the Indians were in danger of being left with no means of communication. This problem, which also affected the inhabitants of the other islands and peninsulas in the lake, led to the use of sailing boats. In this way, the journey from Taquile to Puno was reduced from fifteen to four or five hours. The first boat was bought but the others were built on the island by the Indians, who now have five of them. The growth of landownership and the change in communications have quite altered conditions in the island. The closely-knit community has come safely through a stage of crucial importance. Although the Indians have become the owners of almost the whole island and although the performance of services, without payment, for the former owners has been abolished, the importance of the island in the life of the country has not increased and scarcely any progress has been made with its assimilation. Ownership of land is now in the hands of individuals, but the land lying fallow is used for common pasturage; the system of cultivation follows the traditional pattern, the same crops are grown and the same implements used for tilling the land—the *taklla* (a primitive foot plough) and the ox-drawn plough. The work is done both individually and collectively: the systems of *ayni* (mutual help), *minka* (communal work),

yanaparikuy (mutual help among people not related to one another) and independent co-operative groups for the conduct of specific activities are all working perfectly satisfactorily.

The Indians make their own clothing and weave their own cloth. Their harvests are sufficient for them to engage in a little trade, partly barter and partly sale for money. They gradually collect the necessary amounts for the purchase of land, the building of boats and the buying of the commodities they need for their own consumption, such as matches, lamp oil, wool, alcohol (for celebrations) and miscellaneous goods. They supply the outside market with potatoes, wood for fuel, and a few carved stone objects.

The presence of a school, which has been in existence for eight years, has so far brought about no improvement, mainly because it has not taken due account of the special requirements of the community.

The struggle for the ownership of land and the change in the means of communication and transport are thus the two main factors conducive to economic development and the introduction of modern technology. The Indians living on the island are now in close and constant touch with Puno which, in its way, is the most advanced centre on the Peruvian plateau. The other Indian communities look up to them and quote them as an example, as being the first to acquire ownership of the land they cultivate. It is interesting to note, however, that the people of Taquile, from all other points of view, are still the most conservative group to be found on the islands in the lake. Their traditional institutions are still marked by the Western influence to which they were subjected in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The people are skilful at weaving and stone-working. As the possibilities of agricultural development will always be limited, even in the most favourable circumstances, the increase in the population will make it more and more difficult for the land to support the people. This problem cannot be solved on Taquile; the necessity of leaving the island to find another means of livelihood is beginning to be felt, and a few of the inhabitants have gone as far away as Arequipa to work on the land, taking the places of peasants who have become industrial workers.

If, therefore, agriculture and cottage industries were organized along new lines on the island with the help of modern technology, it might be possible to raise the standard of living of people who have no option but to find work as agricultural labourers or in industry as the country's industrial development proceeds.

THE INDIAN COMMUNITY OF TUPE

Tupe is a mestizo community in which the Indian influence is predominant. It is today a survival of the Kauke ethno-linguistic group, which is akin to Aymara, although it differs both from this and from the Kechua. It is a conservative group which is also represented, in another part of Peru (the mountainous region of the Department of Lima), by a series of surviving communities that have not lost their vitality. It consists of about a thousand people, living in four 'centres of population', all of whom, without exception, speak Spanish and Kauke. This community is in direct touch with more advanced centres such as Cañete, Chincha and Lima. Until the last thirty years, the men used to make long journeys on foot for the sheep and cattle

trade. As a consequence of the development of communications, they have given up this practice and now scarcely ever leave their own part of the country, where they carry on agriculture, their principal form of activity, and stock-rearing. The main road linking them with the large towns is four or five hours' walk away and, like the neighbouring communities, they are trying to build themselves a connecting road. The community lives at an altitude of about 9,300 feet in a mountainous gorge in the Andes. Like most of the communities in the Department of Lima, it leads an isolated life; the ground is so broken that the villages have very little contact with one another. The greatest concentration of these communities is at Huarochiri, where there are twelve of them. Generally speaking, communication with the outside world is by way of the nearest valley to the neighbouring coastal towns and, by way of the latter, with Lima.

There have never been large estates owned by outsiders at Tupe; the land has always been the property of the local peasants. Up to a hundred years ago, or rather less, the land was collectively owned, but today it is in individual ownership. The main crops are potatoes and maize, both of which are used for local consumption; money income is derived from the sale of animals (cattle, sheep and goats) and from the sale of wool and cheese. The *puna*, at an altitude of about 13,000 to 16,000 feet, is the only land still held in common, and there the flocks are reared. The community itself has a capital fund which was established a long time ago and is increased year by year by the contributions of the members of the community and the interest on investments in the shape of annual loans. Women, on an equal footing with men, play a very active part in the life of the community; the work and responsibilities they undertake (the agricultural work is entirely in their hands) give them prestige and the men are thus left free to engage in trade. The preservation of the old traditions is very largely due to the women's influence.

Unlike the school at Taquile, that at Tupe, which was established fifty years ago, has already achieved much, the members of the community themselves being responsible for its success. It is now, however, going through a period of crisis. (Because of the past history of the place, there are still a few people in Lima who originally came from Tupe and are interested in the welfare of the community, although, as things are at present, they can take no effective action on its behalf.)

For administrative purposes, the village comes under three institutions—the Government, the municipality and the community council. The field of the first is purely political; the municipality is short of money and of very little importance; the community council in fact carries out the necessary improvements and development work. Without any encouragement from the authorities of the department and province, the Indians have been carrying out the projects they consider most desirable or accepting suggestions from people living in Lima who originally came from the community.

At present the following projects are under way: building of a road to link up with that from Lima to Yauyos; building of trenches on the *puna* (plateau) for dipping sheep; improvement of the dam for the provision of water; building of premises for religious brotherhoods and institutions.

The prevailing system of individual ownership, together with the continual splitting up of land-holdings by inheritance, is at the root of certain rivalries which are affecting the sense of community of interests, though the feeling is still seen to be strong at seed-time and the various festivals.

Tupe is a community in which craftsmanship is dying out. Not long ago the women's clothes were almost entirely made from materials woven by the peasants, but now manufactured products are gaining ground and the peasants are losing their old skill at the loom. The people are quick, alert and alive to developments; but conservative, as the survival of their language shows.

The extensive areas set aside for pasture could support larger flocks and herds, which would enable the community to supply the coastal market. The sale of wool is already bringing in a large income, but the money is not very wisely used. The productive capacity of the narrow gorge where the peasants grow their crops on long-established terraces is steadily diminishing as a result of the use of unsatisfactory farm implements, unskilful repair of the terraces, and the shortage of water at certain times, although there are lakes on the mountain tops. The peasants all own small plots of land in various parts of the gorge and cultivate them by different methods. There are three separate forms of labour: *minga*, or work by a man or woman paid by the day; *turna* or voluntary help given in the hope of receiving similar help known as *returna* (this is the old system of *ayni*); and finally *fajina* or communal labour (the traditional *minka*).

The diet here, unlike that of population of Taquile, is poor and inadequate although, generally speaking, the economic standard of the latter community is the lower. Trade is well established; the members of the community begin young and learn to trade by taking cattle or cheese down to the coast; some of them have opened small shops in the village, of which there are at present fifteen.

The influence of Catholicism is declining, although the religious institutions and brotherhoods dating from the seventeenth century are still powerful. From the economic standpoint, the latter act as small banks for their members. The loans they make by the year never exceed 200 soles (about £A) and the interest is constantly added to the capital. There are about thirty of these brotherhoods, and every peasant belongs to at least one of them. The idea that invested capital should produce interest is thus well established in this community.

The introduction of the products of modern technology, tools and utensils, ready-made clothing, books, magazines, powerful lamps, wireless sets, etc., is steadily proceeding. The members of the community are aware of what is needed in the way of machinery and organization to develop the area, and they try to give their children better opportunities by sending them to school in the towns. Tupe is a community in transition and, like many others, is waiting to become a part of a larger entity which will give it a new lease of life. For the time being, it is drifting along by itself, without problems of landownership, rivalries with its neighbours, or imminent dangers besetting it.

THE COMMUNITY OF MUQUIYAUYO¹

This community enjoys a very definite prestige which, since 1921, has spread beyond the frontiers of Peru and accounts for the interest still taken by anthropologists in Muquiyauyo. It is a typical example of what a mestizo group in the

¹ Richard N. Adams, 'A Study of Labour Preference in Peru', in *Human Organization*, vol. 10, no. 3, Autumn 1951.

central mountain area can achieve by its own unaided efforts and without guidance from any but its own members. Starting in 1921, the village, as a result of a combination of various circumstances, made a real advance which, however, could not be continued for a number of internal and external reasons. One reason was the fear to which any achievement by those regarded as 'natives' always gives rise. During the last twenty years they have, accordingly, been seriously hampered by a campaign of constant opposition, the result of which has been to some extent to break down their former sense of unity and common interest.

The factors which made the development of the community possible were the following:

1. Two thousand inhabitants, in possession of some eight square miles of fertile ground, producing such abundant crops as to permit the sale of the surplus, and who displayed a strong community spirit.
2. Until 1900 there was a clearly marked division into castes (mestizo and Indian), each of which had its own authorities. Since then, the social organization has changed and the land has been divided up; collective ownership has given way to private ownership, but the pasture-grounds are still communal property, as are a few plots of cultivated ground allotted to the Church, the school and the community; these plots, incidentally, bring in a considerable income. Four divisions or quarters have been established, among which the population is divided; Indians and mestizos have thus been brought into the same system and their efforts united.
3. Through the school, an energetic education campaign benefited both Indians and mestizos and rapidly provided Muquiyauyo with qualified leaders whose influence was readily accepted. Education was the basis on which the teachers and organizers relied for the future development of the community.
4. The community found that its original capital, furnished by the contributions of its members, was considerably increased by the fines imposed for failure to take part in communal work and by the interest of 2 and 5 per cent charged on the loans granted, up to a maximum of 200 soles, to its members. The main reason for the economic success was the good agricultural yield and the existence of such markets in the vicinity as Jauja, the capital of the province, six miles away; Huancayo, where the biggest market in Peru is held each Sunday, 30 miles away; and Lima, 167 miles away by rail and road. This economic prosperity is shared by all the communities in the valley of the Mantaro.
5. The steady development of neighbouring mining centres quickly began to attract workers. The influence was felt in Muquiyauyo as in the other communities, and gradually its young men went to work in the mines, the good wages paid them increasing the economic strength of the community. Those who were regarded as 'Indians' in the community saw that they could get good jobs there, and this gave rise to a spirit of real competition. (Within the group, the Indians and mestizos are still distinguished, although 'outsiders' class them all as Indians.)

The various circumstances created an atmosphere conducive to progress which, in 1918, led the members of the community to establish an electric power station. They formed a company, studied the relevant legislation, took the necessary steps and in 1921 opened the Febo Electricity Works, the establishment of which cost nearly 500,000 soles (£10,000). The station is equipped

with two 75 h.p. Westinghouse units which have been working day and night since that date. The feed channel is 2 miles long and has a discharge of 3 cubic metres a second. Its maximum power is 150 kilowatts; it provides electric light for three settlements, including Jauja. The organization for running and maintaining it is still communally owned. The station has a staff of five and a manager. At present it is making a profit of 18,000 soles a month (£350), which is a high percentage on the initial investment, despite its bad administration.

Some of the money collected was invested in 1950 in a company, formed with a native of Muquiyayo living at Huancayo, with the object of buying machinery for a spinning mill. The company, Textil Muquiyayo, has a capital of 300,000 soles; it owns its premises, which have been handed over to it by the community. The machines have been installed but it has not so far been possible to get them going. This means that a considerable amount of capital is lying idle.

The other technical innovation is the Communal Mill which has been running since 1927. Each member of the company pays only 40 cents per *aroba* (25 lb) while others have to pay 80 cents. The mill is run by a 10 h.p. dynamo. The staff includes a miller, who is paid, on a percentage basis, by the month, and a voluntary manager.

Why did such a community, once embarked on the process of industrialization, fail to complete it, in spite of the equipment acquired?

The following are some of the factors that have helped to cause this stagnation:

1. The ratio of people to land has been completely changed. The population increased from 2,000 in 1918 to 5,100 in 1952. Of the eight square miles intended for the cultivation of food crops, half is now used for growing feeding-stuffs for the cattle and sheep. The ratio has thus been completely reversed. This is due to the very large production of milk—220 gallons a day for five months of the year and 70 for the remaining months, almost all of which is produced for sale outside Muquiyayo and brings in a considerable income. Malnutrition is beginning to affect the community. There is clear evidence of it in the poor work done by the schoolchildren. The problem is becoming serious and efforts are being made to solve it (mistakenly) by bringing into use part of the forest area, although there are still non-irrigated lands where the water problem, though difficult, is not insoluble.
2. The new generations have not fully replaced their predecessors, most of whom have now died or emigrated. The school has ceased to play the leading part it did some thirty years ago; the old enthusiasm has abated. The best members of the population have left the district for the mining centres and there is no family which has not at least one of its members in the mines. This work pays well, especially as Muquiyayo still has a good reputation and anyone coming from the community is well received. It is possible to earn from 25 to 30 soles a day, and workers who rise to be foremen may earn as much as 2,500 soles a month. Many of them die of silicosis and diseases of the lung. Any member of the community who is away pays 150 soles a month to the community for failing to take part in the communal work.

Another group, those who have continued their training for a trade or profession after leaving school, seek work in Lima or in the main towns of

the departments, there being no opportunities for them in the community. Several members are given scholarships by the commune in order to complete their education, but the best of them are lost to the community (which was not so thirty or forty years ago).

3. The hostility of the larger neighbouring villages and the indifference, and later the hostility, of the central government, have been a serious handicap, which many people consider to be at the root of the decline in initiative. The inevitable internal struggles for improvement called for considerable efforts. Stimulus, understanding and support from outside would have been invaluable in carrying out the plans. But the reverse occurred; the leaders, constantly accused for being political agitators of the extreme left or fomentors of sedition, were imprisoned, and controls thwarted all further advance.
4. The technical advances that the members of the community were trying to introduce confronted them with problems for which they were not mentally prepared. The management of the electric power station and the spinning mill was never efficient, and this was one of the fundamental reasons for failure. Four years ago, the people were cheated by a commercial firm from which they had purchased additional equipment to improve the power station for a sum of 300,000 soles; two transformers which could not be coupled to the existing machinery stood idle for two years although, in the end, one of them was adapted and is now in use. Several managers also embezzled large sums. No strict supervision was exercised over the installation of the street lamps in Jauja. If the receipts were well administered, the present income could be doubled.

Muquiyauyo is a mestizo community living in the western part of the lovely and fertile valley of the Mantaro; its fields lie on perfectly flat ground, which makes farming easier. Some of the people still speak Kechua at home. The village is built on the chequer-board plan of a Spanish town; it has thirty-five shops and an omnibus providing a daily service to Jauja and Huancayo; it has no drinking water or sanitary services.

In conclusion, we may draw attention to a few important aspects of the Peruvian Indian communities.

1. The Peruvian Indian communities take an inferior place in the cultural structure of present-day Peru. There are, however, shades of difference, and variations in the stage of development, to be seen among them, as in the cases of Taquile, Tupe and Muquiyauyo.
2. The common denominator is a consumption economy based on the combination of agriculture and stock-rearing (the latter on a small scale).
3. From the cultural point of view, they are ill-equipped to cope with the changes to which the introduction of modern technology for the purposes of industrial development may give rise.
4. They constitute ideal basic units for the development of a large region of Peru—the mountain district where more than half the population of the country lives. They can be made productive, supplying the nation with adequate quantities of foodstuffs, and can help in the development of modern industry, maintaining a proper balance between the number of people and the area of arable land available. They were able to produce a considerable quantity of crops between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, under the Inca empire.

5. The cultural development of several of them (e.g. Muquiyauyo) shows that, in this respect, no advance is possible, even for an energetic and progressive community, unless an overall plan, supported by the State, is brought into effect. Any such undertaking must be based on a firm determination to improve conditions in the communities. This means that a 'comprehensive' campaign is necessary.
6. Anthropological and statistical studies are absolutely necessary as a preliminary to any planning.
7. The process of acculturation is rapidly making Peru a predominantly mestizo nation and is bringing modern knowledge to the underdeveloped communities, but it is not working satisfactorily. Acculturation is proceeding haphazardly and there is no single body which can really be said to direct it. From this point of view, the setback in Muquiyauyo has much to teach us.

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P A R T I I

ORGANIZATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
REVIEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

I. ORGANIZATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNESCO'S INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY INTO THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The swift development of the social sciences during the past 25 years, and the increasingly important part which they are called upon to play in the reorganization of the modern world, have prompted Unesco to consider the methods of social science teaching at present employed in the different cultural regions.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the various stages of the inquiry into social science teaching, to show what results have been achieved, and to identify certain future activities which would follow on from the inquiry and would be likely to lead to fresh progress in knowledge of man and society.

INQUIRY INTO THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Unlike other great branches of learning, the social sciences have by no means reached the same stage of development in each and every part of the world. In some countries, they occupy an important place in higher education; in others, little social science is taught and, moreover, curricula and teaching methods vary considerably from country to country.

Therefore, taking account of the prominent part which social science teaching should play in training for citizenship, and of its potential contribution to the improvement of international understanding, the General Conference of Unesco, at its fifth session (Florence, 1950), authorized the Director-General of Unesco: 'To undertake surveys in some countries of the types of courses and methods of instruction in the social sciences.' (Resolution 3.15)

In pursuance of this resolution, the Director-General called a meeting, on 15 November 1950, of the Secretaries-General of the International Political Science Association, the International Economic Association, the International Sociological Association, the International Committee of Comparative Law and the International Studies Conference. The first of many important problems to be considered by this meeting was the establishment of the list of countries to be covered by the inquiry. In order to make the inquiry as general as possible, the list had to include countries representative of different cultures and having different educational systems. It was agreed to include the following countries: Egypt, France, India, Mexico, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States of America, and Yugoslavia; further, it was understood that the international associations should have every discretion to obtain, for their own purposes, additional reports on countries not covered by the general inquiry.

The second task of the meeting of Secretaries-General was to draw up a draft questionnaire to serve as a basis for the preparation of national reports on the teaching of the different disciplines in the countries mentioned. The purpose of the questionnaire was to show what information was required and to ensure as much uniformity as possible in the presentation of the data collected.

It remained for the meeting to define the meaning and content of the term 'social sciences'. It very soon became apparent that to work out an exact and systematic definition of the various social science disciplines, their respective fields and their mutual relations, would have required a considerable amount of preliminary work, and that, even then, there would have been no guarantee that the results achieved would be generally acceptable. There is still no clear definition of the content of the social sciences; often the most fundamental concepts, as well as the terminology, vary from country to country. To quote only one example, social anthropology, in the sense accepted in Great Britain, differs from cultural anthropology, as taught in the United States. In France, the term *anthropologie sociale* is not at all commonly used in universities; moreover, what is taught as this subject often comes under the heading of *ethnologie*.

Nevertheless, in order to conduct a general inquiry into the teaching of social sciences, the Secretariat had to have some definition of their content. It therefore decided to adopt the empirical method of requesting the various international associations accustomed to working with the Secretariat to assume responsibility for the inquiry in their own particular fields. Thus the International Sociological Association was entrusted with the inquiry on sociology, interpreted in a very wide sense so as to include anthropology and social psychology; the International Economic Association was entrusted with the inquiry on political economy, the International Political Science Association with the inquiry on political science, the International Committee of Comparative Law with the inquiry on law and the philosophy of law, and the International Studies Conference with the inquiry on international relations. Subsequently, the Econometric Society was assigned the task of preparing a report on the teaching of econometry.

The inquiry was to be limited to university studies. Each of the International Associations appointed a rapporteur-general for its field of study as a whole. The following were chosen: for sociology, Professor Pierre de Bie, of Louvain University; for economics, Mr. C. W. Guillebaud, of St. John's College, Cambridge; for political science, Professor W. A. Robson, of the London School of Economics and Political Science, London; for law, Professor J. P. Niboyet, of the Faculty of Law of Paris University; Professeur Niboyet, who died shortly afterwards, was replaced by Professor C. Eisemann, of the same university; for international relations, Professor C. A. W. Manning, of the London School of Economics and Political Science, London.

The preliminary phase and the organization of the inquiry ended with a second meeting of the five rapporteurs-general, held in London on 17 and 18 July 1951. All the problems raised by the inquiry, and particularly that of the drafting of the questionnaire, were again studied, and steps were taken to ensure reception, at the earliest possible date, of the reports on all the countries included in the general list. In all, 54 experts submitted national reports to the five international associations responsible for the inquiry into social science teaching (see Appendix I, p. 487).

The General Conference of Unesco, at its session in Paris in 1951, expressed a wish that the inquiry should be continued, and authorized the Director-General in the following resolution to embark on the second phase, namely that of the compilation and presentation of the data collected:

'The Director-General is authorized:

'To formulate the results of the inquiry carried out in 1951 into the teaching of the social sciences, so that Member States and the competent international organizations may derive therefrom suitable principles for the development and improvement of this teaching.' (Resolution 6C/3.15.)

In pursuance of the above resolution, agreements were concluded, with the various international associations, for the organization of round-table meetings and the preparation and discussion of the general reports concerning their respective disciplines. Further, at the request of the rapporteurs-general, the Secretariat undertook to obtain information about the general structure of higher education, and particularly about the university teaching of social sciences, in the eight countries covered by the general inquiry. To this end, reports were prepared by the following experts: Messrs. M. Taha Hussein (Egypt), J. Chapsal (France), S. Mathai (India), G. Casanova (Mexico) and R. Eriksson (Sweden), Sir Ernest Barker (United Kingdom), Mr. H. Taylor (United States of America) and Mr. R. Uvalic (Yugoslavia).

Marking the final stage of the inquiry, an inter-disciplinary meeting was held in Paris from 16 to 19 September 1952 in order to formulate a series of recommendations regarding ways of improving existing methods of social science teaching. A detailed account of these recommendations will be given in the next paragraph; meanwhile, however, it should be mentioned that this meeting of 20 experts from 11 different countries (see Appendix II) was required to consider, in the light of the data collected and presented by the rapporteurs-general, all the work accomplished since 1951, and to study certain problems which it was apparently essential to solve if social science teaching in universities was to be developed. These problems were as follows: (a) the status of the social sciences in universities; (b) the place of social sciences in general education and their role in training for certain careers; and (c) the training and recruitment of university teachers, and teaching methods. The experts' report was submitted to the General Conference of Unesco at its seventh session (see document 7C/PRG/24 of 7 November 1952) and distributed by the Secretariat.

In approving the experts' report, the General Conference, at its seventh session, decided that the inquiry into social science teaching should be followed up by practical achievements. To that end, it passed the following resolution:

'The Director-General is authorized to encourage social science teaching in universities and secondary schools, emphasizing the contribution that such teaching can make to human progress and to education for living in a world community.' (Resolution 3.141.)

The Secretariat immediately undertook a threefold project:

1. The publication, in separate volumes, of the five general reports prepared under the responsibility of the International Associations: *The Teaching of Political Science*, by W. A. Robson; *The Teaching of International Relations*, by C. A. W. Manning; *The Teaching of Economics*, by C. W. Guillebaud; *The Teaching of Law*, by C. Eisenmann; *The Teaching of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Psychology*, by P. de Bie, C. Lévi-Strauss and J. Nuttin.

Unesco is also issuing booklets, for students, on all the countries covered by the inquiry. Three of these booklets, on the teaching of the various social science disciplines in France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, have already been published.

2. Furthermore, the Secretariat organized three regional conferences in 1954 on social science teaching; the first at New Delhi, and the other two at Beirut and in Costa Rica. There could be no question of recommending that all nations adopt a uniform system of teaching; and regional conferences, attended by representatives of countries with close geographical and cultural links, will provide a means of working out in further detail how the recommendations put forward by the experts who met from 16 to 19 September 1952 can be applied to those countries. Above all, these conferences, by affording an opportunity of discussing how general principles can be translated into regional action, pave the way for national conferences designed to draw up national programmes embodying the findings of international and regional meetings.
3. Lastly, the Secretariat made arrangements for the despatch to Latin America and Pakistan of two missions of experts, which were placed at the Governments' disposal. The experts appointed are in possession of the fullest possible information on the organization of social science teaching in universities, on the latest teaching methods, and on the reforms projected in this field by several countries. They can, if they consider it appropriate and if requested to do so, suggest plans for the reorganization and modernization of the teaching at present provided in the countries they visit.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE 1952 COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

As we have seen, the recommendations adopted by the 1952 Committee of Experts form a general set of principles for the improvement of social science teaching, and it is proposed that they should be carried into effect through the organization of regional and, later, national conferences, and the sending of missions of experts. They thus form a guide for action so that, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Conference at its sixth session, 'Member States and the competent international organizations may derive (from the results of the inquiry) suitable principles for the development and improvement of (social science) teaching'. In this connexion, brief mention should be made of the main proposals put forward by the experts concerning the status of the social sciences in universities, teaching and training in the social sciences, and the recruitment of teachers.

Status of the Social Sciences in Universities

On studying the information assembled by the various international associations in the course of the inquiry, the experts were impressed by what seemed to be its very great diversity. In most countries, social science teaching has been introduced by gradual stages into existing university structures. This was done in various ways—in some cases through the slow and, as it were, organic evolution of the national system, in others by the systematic assimilation of foreign influences or models. Accordingly, there could be no question of general recommendations that ignored the universities' historical evolution

and the valuable factors of the cultural diversity of the various peoples. However, on a number of specific points, the experts put forward suggestions which, in their opinion, should facilitate the development and improvement of social science teaching.

First and foremost, their conclusions reveal one prime necessity—a determination to break down the excessive divisions between the various branches of social science and their teaching. Such a removal of barriers will lead to exchanges of views from which these disciplines will benefit, and bridge the gaps occasionally left between each separate branch of social science. This aim, which can be achieved in several ways, according to the different national situations, will certainly be discussed at the various regional conferences to be held in 1954. The experts stressed that, whatever the institutional formula adopted, it is essential that study cycles should be organized for each branch of the social sciences and that all these cycles should lead to equivalent diplomas.

The experts further emphasized the need for citizens to understand the organization and working of the society in which they are required to live; they therefore indicated to universities the desirability of studying the place that the social sciences should take in general education and the part those sciences should play in the general and professional training of students who were preparing for certain careers requiring a thorough knowledge of social changes, such as the careers of civil servant, trade union official, architect, town planner, journalist, lawyer, etc.

Teaching and Training in the Social Sciences

The experts who met in September 1952 discussed the problems arising for all social science disciplines in regard to teaching and training. Considering that it was perhaps in this field that the greatest account must be taken of national habits, traditions and, to some extent, routine, the experts considered that social science teaching should always be in line with the two following principles:

1. Students, of whatever branch of social science, should be given a general view of the social sciences as a whole, so that they can appreciate the complexity and interdependence of the problems which arise in any and every human society.
2. Students should be able to specialize at a relatively early stage in the discipline or group of disciplines in which they are to carry out work of a scientific or practical nature,

The means of carrying these general principles into practice cannot be discussed here in full. But the regional conferences planned in 1954 have paid special attention to the experts' recommendations on this subject, and particularly to the suggestions concerning a better organization of students' work. Questions of methods of work (team or individual), links between teaching and research, as well as examinations and the conferring of university degrees, should in each case be considered in the light of practical realities, so that solutions can be worked out which can later be applied at the national level.

Recruitment of Teachers

In the social sciences, as in any other field of scientific knowledge, the methods of recruiting teachers, and the qualifications required of them, vary considerably from one country to another. On the one hand, we have teacher

recruitment by a fairly rigid system of competitive examination; on the other, a system that relies mainly on the candidate's personal work and his aptitude for scientific research—recruitment on a basis of 'qualifications'. Both procedures have their advantages and disadvantages; and each is the outcome of a particular cultural tradition. The meeting of experts, therefore, put forward no definite recommendations regarding either of these procedures. The experts did, however, discuss a number of problems peculiar to the social sciences or raising especially serious issues in connexion with recruitment; and these will have to be reverted to at regional conferences. With regard for instance to the role to be allotted, in social science teaching, to practising professionals, the experts thought that, in order to link theory with practice, recourse should be had, for teaching purposes, to specialists exercising some extra-university profession, provided there was always a sufficiently large permanent staff of teachers to control the policy to be followed, and the practising professionals were employed simply to supplement the basic teaching programme. A highly important problem is that of countries where there are not enough teachers to provide students with an adequate training; and the same may be said of countries where social science teaching has not yet been extensively developed. As the training of teachers is dependent on the stage reached by the social sciences, the experts considered that the underdeveloped countries were bound to make arrangements for study abroad. They emphasized, however, that cultural differences between the countries in which study is undertaken and those in which teaching is later to be conducted may be such that special care should be taken to prevent the student losing touch with his own culture. Here again, regional conferences will have to consider the most appropriate practical means of achieving this aim.

FUTURE EXTENSION OF THE INQUIRY

The international inquiry conducted in 1951 covered the following disciplines: sociology, social psychology and anthropology, economics and econometry, law and philosophy of law, political science and international relations.

For many reasons, this list cannot be considered to cover all branches of social science. In the first place, it is generally recognized that history and geography have many links with the social sciences. Secondly, some branches of study, such as demography, criminology, public administration and industrial relations, the teaching of which is so far not very advanced except in a few countries, were disregarded, or not dealt with as fully as they would have been had they been surveyed direct. Lastly, statistics, the techniques of which are extensively used by many branches of social science, were not given even incidental consideration.

Furthermore, the international inquiry was concerned exclusively with higher education, and it is perhaps time to see whether encouragement should not be given to the teaching of the social sciences and the humanities in secondary or perhaps even primary schools.

Attention should also be paid to a number of practical problems raised by the link between the social sciences and everyday activities, e.g. problems connected with openings for employment and careers and the training of national and international civil servants.

We thus see that, owing to the very nature of the problems brought to light by the inquiry, it would be natural to extend this inquiry in at least three further directions:

So far as the disciplines in question are concerned, further study should be instituted and information assembled so as to fill in some of the most serious gaps in the 1951 international inquiry. For this purpose, the Draft Programme and Budget for 1955-56 provides for the organization of an inquiry into the present status of the teaching of statistics, demography, public administration and industrial relations in the eight countries originally selected for the international inquiry. The results of the inquiry will supply material for several booklets to be issued in the *Teaching in the Social Sciences* series.

The international inquiry has so far been confined to higher education. But the social sciences should possibly be regarded as part of any general education, in which case they ought to be included in secondary and even primary school curricula. This may at first sight seem an attractive and fully justified measure. Instruction in the social sciences is today provided almost exclusively by the university, and thus remains the privilege of a minority; yet it may be asked whether, for the smooth working of democracy in the broad sense of the term, some basic knowledge of social science should not be supplied to all citizens, who periodically have to take decisions on the complex political, economic and social problems facing any human society. The International Political Science Association has been particularly concerned with one point—determination of the part that should be played by political science in the training of citizens. Should not civics, revitalized by scientific methods, be one of the basic subjects taught at secondary schools? The general imparting, in this way, of notions of social science seems to raise very great difficulties, and educationists are showing some reluctance in the matter. However, it would be difficult to deny the majority of future citizens an opportunity of acquiring some objective grasp of social realities, their complexity and their evolution. Furthermore, the inquiry into social science teaching showed that this teaching cannot be profitable at the university level unless pupils receive some preparation for it in their secondary school studies. The Secretariat, in co-operation with the leading international teachers' associations, has accordingly endeavoured, in 1954, to give critical consideration to the present position of secondary schools with regard to such teaching. Experiments already attempted must be analysed, and an effort is made to assemble information on the basis of which the Secretariat can work out suggestions for teachers.

In addition, it is thought that—following the example set by certain countries, though still on a small scale—encouragement should be given to the inclusion of elementary social science lessons for adults in the programmes of folk high schools, evening courses and courses organized by workers' trade unions. This question would probably be of special interest to countries of northern Europe and the United States of America, for instance, where adult education is already highly developed. The Secretariat will therefore see whether a study of this question could be included in one of the organization's future programmes.

Of the many problems raised by the links between social science and everyday

living conditions, two seem to merit special consideration by the Secretariat.

The first has to do with openings for social science students and the relative importance that should be attached, in working out programmes and methods, to this question of openings. University teaching would clearly lose much of its point if it were strictly confined to intensive preparation for a given career. Any teaching results in the acquisition of a certain technical skill. The moot point, then, is how far the development of this skill should be pushed in social science teaching. The universities would surely be impoverished if they eschewed anything describable as professional training. The problem is all the more complicated in that we are still far from any clear-cut definition and delimitation of the careers to which social science is a gateway; many such careers are only now coming into being.

It would accordingly be necessary, before assessing the possible impact of the factors on teaching, to determine the careers for which the social sciences are at present able to supply qualified specialists. In this connexion, it is worth pointing out that the international associations have repeatedly stressed the need for an inquiry into the careers open to social scientists and into the type of employment they may find in various sectors of the community. The relatively undeveloped countries also wish to know how a knowledge of social science could improve the performance of a number of social functions. Many of them, especially those where the traditional concentration on law and the humanities has led to unemployment in the liberal professions, would like to know how the traditional training should be modified in order to meet new conditions. The Draft Programme and Budget for 1955-56 draws the attention of the Unesco National Commissions to the importance of this problem of openings, and suggests their undertaking an inquiry into supply and demand in social scientists. The Secretariat will naturally make available to these Commissions any information it may be able to assemble on the subject.

Another question raised by the links between social science and everyday living conditions is the training of national and international civil servants.

In view of the increasingly technical character of State functions, and of the efforts made to give the decisions of government departments in the political, economic and social fields a firm and rational basis, it seems desirable for prospective civil servants to receive a general training in the social sciences. The moot point is how far this training should be extended, whether it should be provided as part of general university education or in specialized schools, and what its content should be. It has not yet been possible to take up this problem in the organization's current programmes, but it might be included in the 1957-58 programme. The same applies to the training of international civil servants, which has so far been considered only at the national level. The development of international organizations, however, is bound to raise the question of the training of their officials, especially if technical assistance is widely extended. In particular, the training of technical assistance experts raises considerable problems, complicated by the fact that the persons who have to receive such training come from different cultural backgrounds, have received widely varying education, and are often required to take up their duties in countries with very different cultural traditions. Many plans for the training of international civil servants have already been put forward, but no systematic study of the subject has been undertaken; and it is felt that Unesco could usefully investigate the possibilities, in consultation with the United Nations and appropriate specialized agencies.

APPENDIX I

International Political Science Association: Messrs. A. El Emary (Egypt), J. Chapsal (France); S. V. Kogekar (India), L. Mendieta y Nuñez (Mexico), S. Ehrlich (Poland), E. Hastad (Sweden), W. J. Mackenzie and A. H. Hanson (United Kingdom), Marshall E. Dimock (United States of America).

International Studies Conference: Messrs. M. A. Yehia (Egypt), J.-J. Chevallier (France), A. Appadorai (India), G. Casanova (Mexico), K. E. Birnbaum (Sweden), G. L. Goodwin (United Kingdom), H. Sprout (United States of America) and J. Djordjevic (Yugoslavia).

International Economic Association: Messrs. R. Clémens (Belgium), W. Messiha (Egypt), E. James (France), F. Lütge, E. Preiser (Germany), C. N. Vakil (India), C. Arena (Italy), A. Kozlik (Mexico), T. Palander (Sweden), C. W. Guillebaud (United Kingdom), H. Taylor (United States of America) and R. Uvalic (Yugoslavia).

International Committee of Comparative Law: Messrs. R. Clémens, X. Janne, J. Dabin (Belgium), K. Mourisy (Egypt), A. Tunc, H. Batifol, H. Motulsky (France), K. Zweigert (Germany), S. S. Nehru (India), Jean Chevalier, B. Tabbah (Lebanon), F. Del Castillo, E. Trigueros (Mexico), A. Malmström, I. Strahl (Sweden), C. J. Hamson, M. Standford, A. J. Campbell, J. L. Montrose, H. C. Gutteridge, R. Graveson (United Kingdom), J. N. Hazard, A. Ehrenzweig (United States of America) and B. Blagojevic (Yugoslavia).

International Sociological Association: Messrs. S. A. Hozayen, H. El Saaty (Egypt), E. Morin (France), G. S. Ghurye (India), L. Mendieta y Nuñez (Mexico), S. Ossowski (Poland), E. Tegen, K. Malstem, B. G. Rundblad, S. Erixon (Sweden), D. G. MacRae (United Kingdom), R. Meltzer, J. G. Manis, S. Ray, L. Wirth and E. W. Voegelin (United States of America).

APPENDIX II: INTERDISCIPLINARY MEETING OF THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES—UNESCO, 16-19 SEPTEMBER 1952.

List of Participants

P. de Bie, Professor of Sociology, University of Louvain (Belgium).

T. Cavalcanti, Director of the National Faculty of Economics, University of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil).

T. Cole, Professor of Political Science, Duke University, Durham (United States of America).

M. Duverger, Professor of Political Science, University of Bordeaux (France).

C. Eisenmann, Professor of Law, University of Paris (France).

M. Ginsberg, Professor of Sociology, London School of Economics and Political Science (United Kingdom).

C. W. Guillebaud, Professor of Economics, St. John's College, Cambridge (United Kingdom).

J. N. Hazard, Professor of Law, Columbia University, New York (United States of America).

S. Hofstra, Director of the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague (Netherlands).

K. Kelsen, Professor of Law, Institut des Hautes Études Internationales, Geneva (Switzerland) and Emeritus Professor, Berkeley University, California (United States of America).

C. Lévi-Strauss, Professor of Cultural Anthropology, École des Hautes Études, Paris (France).

C. A. W. Manning, Professor of International Relations, London School of Economics and Political Science (United Kingdom).

J. Meynaud, Professor of Political Economy, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris (France).

H. Minami, Professor of Social Psychology, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo (Japan).

O. A. Oeser, Professor of Social Psychology, University of Melbourne (Australia).

T. Palander, Professor of Economics, University of Upsala (Sweden).
W. A. Robson, Professor of Political Science, London School of Economics and Political Science (United Kingdom).
S. Tax, Vice-Dean and Professor of the Division of Social Sciences, University of Chicago (United States of America).
R. Uvalic, Vice-Rector and Professor of Political Economy, University of Belgrade (Yugoslavia).
L. von Wiese, Professor of Sociology, University of Cologne (German Federal Republic). International organizations sent the following observers to this meeting: Messrs. L. B. Ges (UN), E. Grzegorzewski (WHO), H. M. Keyes (International Association of Universities), J. d'Ormesson (International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies).

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNESCO PAMPHLET SERIES ON RACE

G. SAENGER

A few years ago the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization published a series of pamphlets entitled *The Race Question in Modern Science*. Written by some of the leading scientists in the Unesco member countries, the series was designed to implement the work of the United Nations in reducing prejudice and discrimination by providing authoritative information on the nature of race and racial differences, the origins and uses of prejudice.

In 1952 Unesco set up a small pilot study in the United States in order to test the effectiveness of these pamphlets as teaching aids in American high schools and colleges. The aim of the study was to ascertain to what extent exposure to the pamphlets contributed to the existing knowledge of its readers and affected prejudiced attitudes.

The execution of the study was entrusted to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. A SPSSI committee appointed for this purpose, consisting of Dr. Otto Klineberg, Dr. Dorwin Cartwright, and Dr. Stuart Cook, asked Dr. Gerhart Saenger of New York University to act as project director of the study co-sponsored by Unesco and SPSSI.

The study was conducted with the assistance of four graduate students working on their M.A. theses—Martin Bobrowsky, Arnold Jaffe, Arlene Newman, and Leonard Solomon—and 30 volunteers from a class in race relations at New York University.

DETERMINANTS OF EFFECT

The effectiveness of the pamphlets can be described in terms of the following conditions: the pamphlets must reach their audience; they must be comprehensible; they must succeed in increasing information; their message must be understood to the extent that the reader can draw his own conclusions, apply

what he has learned; the message must be accepted and result in the desired change in attitude.

Using a captive audience, such as students, it may appear at first glance that it would not be possible to obtain information concerning our first variable. Yet college students do not always read all their assignments. We were therefore able to find out whether the less informed and more prejudiced subjects, who could benefit most from reading, were reached as often as the other students.

Some clarification is also needed concerning the difference between the attainment of new information and understanding. It is possible to acquire new facts in a mechanical way without understanding their implications so as to be able to make deductions. 'Education' sometimes succeeds only in enabling the student to check the correct answer on a 'true-false' question. He fails, however, in grasping its meaning, is unable to express the idea in his own words.

OBSTACLES TO USE OF PAMPHLETS IN HIGH SCHOOLS

In many communities the United Nations and especially Unesco are considered controversial topics. Most school administrators, therefore appear to hesitate to expose their students to Unesco materials.

Interviews with 10 school superintendents in New York and New Jersey communities ranging from a population of 5,000 to a population of 400,000 indicated that this fear goes back to the successful fight of 'patriotic' groups in Los Angeles against the use of a series of Unesco publications explaining the work and philosophy of the organization. In the debate on the use of the pamphlets in California, Unesco was accused of alienating the loyalties of the school children from the United States and of advocating world government.

This experience led to apprehension among school administrators concerning the use in public schools of any Unesco publications, regardless of their content. Most administrators spontaneously referred to the California case when asked for permission to conduct a study in their district.

'I discussed the topic of the Unesco study with the school executives of R. County, and it was the consensus of opinion of the members attending the meeting that they would rather not become involved in a study of this type at the present time. They feel that you have a worthy project but, due to unfavourable publicity as far as the UN and Unesco is concerned, it would be disastrous to conduct a study at this time.' (Supervising Principal.)

The impressions gained from discussions with school administrators were reinforced by talks with teachers from a fairly large number of communities on the eastern seaboard gathered for an educational conference in New York City.

Metropolitan New York constituted an exception. The Board of Education was willing to co-operate in the project. However, civic pressure against the use of any attitude scales dealing with information about or attitudes toward racial or religious groups would have made the study of doubtful value. The board gave permission only for the use of strictly information items and excluded any questions making reference to specific ethnic groups. Even such a limited study was to be conducted only in selected schools having

exceptionally high scholastic standards and known for good work in intergroup relations. Because of all these limitations, it was decided not to attempt a study in New York high schools.

Not much was lost, however, because it is fairly safe to predict that the pamphlets would have been ineffectual on the high school level. School principals, social science teachers and experts in intergroup education stated almost unanimously that the pamphlets were too difficult even for juniors and seniors. Two New York principals expressed the belief that only the 20 per cent of the students with the highest scholastic aptitude would be able to comprehend the pamphlets. They criticized specifically the frequent use of difficult words not found in the average vocabulary, the too long sentences, the lack of concrete examples and of pictures. They thought that the appearance of the pamphlets would not create sufficient incentive toward reading, would not appeal. Several teachers contended that today's high school student will not read books unless they are attractively covered and amply illustrated.

Criticism was extended even toward the popular condensation of three pamphlets appearing under the title *What is Race?* One principal known for his work in intergroup education stated that the children would not be able to see the connexion between the exposition of the Mendelian laws taking up the greater part of this pamphlet, and racial differences, let alone the problem of prejudice and tension in their everyday lives.

To obtain some scientific measure concerning the difficulties presented by the pamphlets, the Flesch Reading Index was applied to all pamphlets used in the study. By measuring sentence and word length, one arrives at a score which expresses the amount of education necessary to comprehend a given reading matter and indicates the proportion of persons in the United States who may be able to benefit from it.

The analysis indicated that two pamphlets, *Race and Culture* and *Racial Myths*, can be read successfully only by persons who have completed college or are near completion. *Race and Psychology* and *Race and Biology* present no difficulties for the average college sophomore.

TABLE I. Readability of Six Unesco Pamphlets

Score range Flesch index	School grade required for comprehension	Per cent of population able to benefit from reading	Pamphlet score in order of reading difficulty
90-100	5th	93	
80-90	6th	91	<i>Roots of Prejudice</i> 48
70-80	7th	88	<i>What is Race?</i> 46
60-70	8-9th	83	<i>Race and Biology</i> 37
50-60	10-12th (high school)	54	<i>Race and Psychology</i> 34
30-50	13-16th (college)	33	<i>Racial Myths</i> 18
0-30	Completed college	5	<i>Race and Culture</i> 16

Roots of Prejudice and *What is Race?*, the popular version mainly of *Race and Biology*, can be comprehended by a majority of those who have completed high school. Four of the pamphlets are thus useful in American colleges, can

be read by the third of the nation's adults who have had at least some college education. But even the college students often complained about difficulties and the unattractive make-up of the pamphlets.

THE COLLEGE SAMPLE

Five colleges were chosen to test the effectiveness of the pamphlets among college students: the School of Education of New York University, Montclair Teacher's College and Upsala University in New Jersey, Kent State University, Ohio, and the University of Wisconsin. The choice of colleges in the east as well as the middle west was dictated by the desire to have a more representative sample. It was expected that the midwestern students would in general be more prejudiced, less friendly toward the United Nations and less exposed to previous intergroup education. The study did not bear out our assumption that midwestern students were more prejudiced and had less intergroup education. It was found, however, that midwesterners were less favourably inclined toward the United Nations than eastern students.

In the east, metropolitan NYU had the least prejudiced students, followed by Montclair, a New Jersey State Teacher's College. Upsala, a small denominational liberal arts college, had the lowest scholastic standard and the highest amount of prejudice. In the midwest, Kent State University students were more prejudiced than those of more cosmopolitan Wisconsin University. With the exception of NYU, all colleges represented a good cross-section of the general college population of their respective areas with regard to sex, age, education, ethnic background. All subjects were taken from beginning classes in psychology or sociology, which may constitute a small bias in so far as students taking these courses are generally slightly more liberal than those not taking them. The total sample in all five colleges amounted to 635 cases. Not all students were always present during the four class periods required to administer all tests; and others failed to heed the written instructions correctly or omitted questions; the analysis was based on 450 cases.

RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to test the effectiveness of exposure to the pamphlets the total population in each college was divided into three groups: (1) a control group which took all the tests used to establish effectiveness, but did not read the pamphlets; (2) an experimental group which read the pamphlets but did not discuss them, and (3) a group which read and discussed the pamphlets prior to taking the tests (omitted in NYU).

The effectiveness of education may be reduced by the frequently observed tendency of potential audiences to avoid exposure to ideas with which they find themselves in disagreement. We also tend to avoid reading materials produced by persons or organizations toward whom we harbour unfriendly attitudes. To study the effect of such resistances, a test measuring prejudicial attitudes, a test measuring attitudes toward Unesco, and the California F-scale were given prior to exposure to the reading materials.

The administration of these tests made it possible not only to study the effect of resistance on exposure to the Unesco materials and on the acquisition

of new information, but was useful also for ascertaining how well matched control and experimental groups were.

To study gains in information and understanding, all groups were given 'knowledge' and 'understanding tests' after a period of four weeks. During this time the experimental groups were asked to read the pamphlets. Comparisons between the experimental and control groups established the amount of learning which took place.

The Montclair and NYU students were asked to read all five pamphlets in the original Unesco series, and given slightly more time for reading. Kent and Wisconsin, upon request of their instructors, were exposed to only three pamphlets, *Roots of Prejudice*, *Race and Psychology* and *Race and Culture*. The Upsala students read *Roots of Prejudice*, *Racial Myths*, and the popular version of *Race and Biology*, entitled *What is Race?*.

To measure the effect of the reading upon prejudiced attitudes, a disguised test was employed. Research in race relations has shown that students often merely learn to give 'correct' democratic replies to attitude tests rather than experiencing a change of attitude. Moreover, the 'before and after' method has the disadvantage that we do not know whether a change of scores in an attitude test given after exposure to the educational material is due to the effect of the material or the result of exposure to a previous attitude test. For this reason changes in attitude were measured by comparing the 'projective attitude test' scores of the experimental and the control groups.

To measure not only changes in general ethnic attitudes but to obtain information concerning the readers' willingness to act upon their attitudes, all groups were asked to indicate their willingness to participate in various phases of the Unesco educational programme.

TESTS USED

Both the test on 'Attitudes toward the United Nations' and on 'Attitudes toward Different Racial and Ethnic Groups' consisted almost entirely of fixed alternative questions permitting a score range of 18 and 9 points. The three different tests used to measure increases in information consisted of 'true-false' and 'multiple choice' questions. The 'knowledge tests' used to measure the effects of reading the pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice* and *Racial Myth* (with emphasis on the former) as well as the test designed to measure the effects of exposure to *Race and Biology* or *What is Race?* had a total range of 27 score points. The test used to measure the effect of *Race and Psychology* and *Race and Culture* had a total range of 18 points. For purposes of comparison the scores were converted to a percentage scale. A score of 0 points represents correct answers to all questions or a perfect knowledge score. A score of 100 indicates that all questions were answered wrong.

Understanding was measured by asking open-ended questions related to the pamphlet content. While the direct answers were not given in the pamphlets, the questions could be answered easily if the factual materials given in the pamphlets were absorbed and understood correctly, i.e., if the reader was able to generalize from his readings.

The projective test employed consisted of an adaptation of an information test designed by Donald T. Campbell. The students are asked to answer apparent information questions to which they are not likely to know the

answers and hence have to guess. The nature of the guesses is presumed to be indicative of their attitudes. The items included questions concerning the proportion of Negroes in the U.S.A. in 1900 and 1950, the average income figures for various ethnic groups, the proportion of Negroes with mental diseases. It is thought that overestimates of the growth of the Negro population or of the income of Jews is related to prejudice.

As in most projective tests of this sort the disguise is not perfect and it may be possible to detect the intent of the questions. To some extent the nature of the guesses will also be related to information. The prejudiced person may know that prejudiced individuals are easily inclined to overrate the income of people they dislike, or may in some rare instances even have learned the answers to our questions. Hence it appeared important to validate our projective questionnaire.

A first approach consisted in keeping information constant to ascertain whether the relationship found between our open prejudice scale and the projective test would disappear. In the latter case the projective test would have measured information exclusively rather than attitudes.

TABLE 2. Relationship of 'Prejudice Scores' Measured by an 'Open Attitude' Test, and a 'Projective Test' of Prejudice, for Informed and Uninformed Readers of the Pamphlet *Roots of Prejudice*

Prejudice Projective test	Prejudice open attitude test					
	Well informed		Medium		Uninformed	
	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Low	37 %	38 %	34 %	22 %	33 %	29 %
Medium	34 %	36 %	33 %	45 %	39 %	29 %
High	29 %	25 %	33 %	33 %	28 %	42 %
No.	44	47	36	51	20	35

No significant difference in projective scores between those who had scored low and those who scored high on the initial test occurred among those who were generally well informed on our subject matter. The 'high' prejudiced even appear to do slightly better than the less prejudiced. They may have seen through the intent of the disguised projective test, and, being well informed, were able to give the 'correct' answers. Significant relations, however, existed among those who were less well informed. Apparently, this type of projective test works best among relatively uninformed individuals.

Presumably the open attitude test is not conclusive because prejudiced persons, who live in a society which frowns upon race bias, may tend to hide their real feelings. We should, therefore, not rely solely upon the doubtful undisguised attitude test to validate our disguised test.

Prior research indicated a relationship between character and ethnic prejudice. The California F-scale for the measurement of the democratic-authoritarian character structure can therefore be used to validate the

projective attitude scale. The results indicate a correlation between 'authoritarianism' and a high prejudice score on the projective scale which increases our confidence in using the latter test for the measurement of attitude change. Parenthetically, there also is the expected correlation between personality as measured by the F-scale and attitudes toward the UN.

TABLE 3. Relationship between Character and Prejudice

Prejudice Projective test	Character type*				
	1 Democratic	2	3 Medium	4	5 Authoritarian
Low prejudice	60 %	36 %	35 %	30 %	22 %
Medium prejudice	37 %	31 %	31 %	35 %	41 %
High prejudice	3 %	33 %	34 %	35 %	37 %
No.	30	55	77	59	59

* Difference significant at per cent level.

FACTORS DETERMINING AMOUNT OF READING

How much time did the students actually spend in reading the pamphlets which had been assigned to them? Sixty-three per cent of the midwestern students spent more than one hour on each pamphlet as compared to 30 per cent of the eastern subjects. We can attribute this difference partially to the fact that the eastern students had more pamphlets to read, and partially to greater pressure exerted by the instructors in the midwestern institutions. In Kent State University some classroom time was allotted to the reading of the pamphlets. From a practical point of view it does not seem advisable to assign more than three pamphlets per term to even relatively highly motivated groups.

Differences in the relative appeal of the pamphlets were indicated by the amount of time devoted to the reading of different pamphlets. Such differences in appeal were particularly marked in our eastern colleges where the pressure toward reading was more in accord with the normal effort usually made by college teachers to have students attend to their assignments. It could not express itself in the middle west, not only because fewer pamphlets were assigned, but also because there was greater insistence on reading all three of them.

Judging from the amount of time spent in reading, *Roots of Prejudice* turned out to be the most popular pamphlet, followed closely by the booklet *Racial Myths*. *Race and Biology* turned out to be the least popular pamphlet in spite of the fact that the Uppsala students were permitted to read the illustrated version of *Race and Biology* appearing in an attractive cover. In the two institu-

tions where *Roots of Prejudice* as well as *Race and Psychology* was assigned, the former again appeared to be slightly more popular.

It appears possible that the greater popularity of *Roots of Prejudice* is related to the relative unfamiliarity with its topic. Students had been exposed from their high school days to materials dealing with the content of Klineberg's pamphlet but not with that of Rose's. Judging from comments, *Race and Biology* was unpopular because it was difficult to see how its content related to the actuality of race relations in the modern world. In attempting to explain differences in appeal, however, we should not overlook the possibility that the easier readability of *Roots of Prejudice* contributed to its greater popularity.

Particularly in the east, where the students had more leeway, the more prejudiced students tended to read less than the rest of the group. But resistance to reading caused by prejudice was by no means uniform. It affected mostly the reading of those pamphlets which had less appeal, and, as we shall see later, operated to minimize gains in information and changes in attitude. *Roots of Prejudice* was read as much, if not more so, by the more prejudiced than by the less prejudiced. Moreover, the amount of resistance was limited. *Race and Psychology* was still read by 53 per cent of the more prejudiced students.

TABLE 4. Effect of Prejudice on Reading of Selected Pamphlets by Students in Eastern Colleges.

Amount of time spent in reading	<i>Roots of Prejudice</i>			<i>Race and Psychology</i>			<i>Race and Biology</i>		
	Low prej.	Med. prej.	High prej.	Low prej.	Med. prej.	High prej.	Low prej.	Med. prej.	High prej.
None	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	22	30	30	23	59	47	40	50	54
Less than 1 hour	43	42	30	31	23	41	26	28	36
More than 1 hour	35	28	40	46	18	12	34	22	10

The attitude toward the United Nations also influenced the amount of reading. With the exception of the most prejudiced eastern students, however, a less positive attitude toward the United Nations appeared to make the students more eager to read the pamphlets issued by the organization. They may have been more curious to find out what Unesco had to say in the light of the hostile propaganda to which the organization was subjected. We may suspect also that those less favourable toward UN may easily have approached the pamphlets in a more sceptical frame of mind, were less likely to learn from reading.

TABLE 5. Students Spending more than One Hour in Reading the Pamphlets, by Prejudice and by Attitude toward the United Nations

Attitudes	Eastern students			Midwestern students		
	Roots	Psych.	Cult.	Roots	Psych.	Cult.
Low prejudice	%	%	%	%	%	%
Pro UN	36	41	32	60	57	79
Anti UN	35	46	23	46	46	46
High prejudice	43	54	40	65	60	47
Pro UN	33	17	18	63	55	74
Anti UN	35	21	15	36	36	64
	12	0	10	75	62	77

The tendency of those less favourable toward UN to spend more time in reading is of decided value. It provides Unesco with the opportunity to win followers. This is precisely what happened. We were able to administer the test on attitudes toward the United Nations twice in Kent, once before and once after exposure to the pamphlets. The results indicated a more favourable attitude toward UN after the students had read the pamphlets. This result is the more gratifying as Kent is the college which was least friendly toward UN, and the institution exerting greatest pressure on reading, which might well have led to an increase in resistance. However, it remained to be seen to what extent initially negative attitudes toward UN lead to resistance and affect the benefit derived from reading the Unesco pamphlets.

IMPROVEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

Before we can answer this question we must realize that marked improvements in knowledge concerning the subject matter of the pamphlets can be accomplished only in areas where considerable initial ignorance is found. *Race and Psychology* could be expected to be relatively ineffectual because the students tested were already well informed on the subject matter discussed in that pamphlet. As a result of the highly effective work by Klineberg and other workers in the field, the average college student is by now thoroughly familiar with the fact that difference in I.Q. between Negroes and whites are not likely to represent differences in native intelligence, but can be attributed to educational and social handicaps. (Parenthetically, the students did not seem to be equally well informed about the fact that the higher I.Q. of Jewish students is also not caused by differences in native intelligence). At least one-third of all students who had not read this pamphlet answered 80 per cent or more of all questions correctly. Nineteen out of twenty answered more than 60 per cent of all questions right.

In contrast, only one out of five students not exposed to the pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice* and *Racial Myths* was able to answer correctly more than 60 per cent of all questions based on these pamphlets.

Exposure to the pamphlet *Roots of Prejudice* led to a considerable

improvement in information both in the east and middle west. The change was more pronounced in the east, although, as we saw earlier, the former did less reading. Perhaps the smaller improvement in the middle west is the result of greater resistance to learning caused by more negative feelings toward UN and greater insistence on reading. A slight improvement resulted from reading the pamphlet *Race and Biology*, while exposure to the pamphlet *Race and Psychology* did not lead to any improvement.

TABLE 6. Gains in Information Resulting from Reading

Percent. of questions answered correctly	Roots of Prejudice & Racial Myths				Race and Psychology & Race and Culture			
	East		Middle west		East		Middle west	
	Not read	Read	Not read	Read	Not read	Read	Not read	Read
Informed	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
81-100	0	3	4	6	30	36	44	38
61-80	16	44	24	25	62	49	52	60
41-60	52	40	35	58	8	9	4	2
21-40	28	10	35	10	—	2	—	—
Uninformed								
1-20	4	3	2	1	—	4	—	—

The above analysis is based on a comparison of those not assigned with those asked to read the pamphlets. It is indicative of changes in the group as a whole, not a direct measure of different amounts of reading. To evaluate the effect of different amounts of reading, we had to correlate the time spent reading with the amount of information the students had.

The reader may recall that particularly in the east refusal to read may be caused by resistance resulting from prejudice. Our expectation that the 'non-reader' in the experimental group would have a lower score than the unselected non-reader in the control group, representing a cross section of the study population, was borne out by our results.

Particularly in the middle west, however, those who read extensively knew less than those who had done only some reading. Again, this may perhaps be explained in terms of our previous finding that those least friendly toward the United Nations were inclined to read more. They may have read more in order to find fault with the publication, approached the pamphlets with an attitude not conducive to the acquisition of information.

Discussion of the pamphlets was in general slightly more effective than mere reading, and particularly so for the pamphlet *Roots of Prejudice*.

In view of the Unesco objective to contribute to information as well as to combat prejudiced attitudes, we asked ourselves whether increases in information may by themselves lead to favourable changes in attitude. The data indicate that our relatively unprejudiced students know substantially more about the causes of prejudice than our more prejudiced students, and appear also slightly better informed about the nature of racial differences.

TABLE 7. Information, by Prejudice

Percent. of questions answered correctly	Information on			
	Causes of prejudice (Roots of Prejudice)		Racial differences (Race and Psychology)	
	Low prejudice	High prejudice	Low prejudice	High prejudice
Informed				
81-100	6	0	42	30
61-80	28	17	48	67
41-60	45	38	10	3
21-40	21	40	—	—
Uninformed				
1-20	—	5	—	—

This relation between high prejudice and low information, however, may be interpreted in different ways. An increase in information concerning the causes of prejudice and the nature of racial differences may lead to a decrease of prejudice. On the other hand, it is also possible that the less prejudiced students tend to expose themselves more to information concerning these subjects. They also may approach readings providing new information more with an open mind, may be more willing to accept the message than more prejudiced individuals.

It is most likely that both statements are correct. To the extent that there are individuals who do not have personal (quasi-neurotic) needs to maintain their prejudice, or are not exposed to very strong pressure toward the maintenance of prejudice, to that extent can information help to reduce prejudiced attitudes.

UNDERSTANDING

There is evidence that the pamphlets not only contributed to information but were able to deepen the students' understanding of the causes of apparent differences between racial groups. Among others the readers of the pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice* and *Racial Myths* were asked: 'How do you explain that Negroes are found to be often less productive and ambitious than whites?'; 'How does prejudice benefit the majority member?'; 'Why is prejudice psychologically harmful to the prejudiced individual?'

These questions were asked not only to probe the depth of their understanding but also because we thought that the ability to understand these issues correctly would provide them with an incentive to more enlightened action. It was, therefore, encouraging to find that those exposed to the pamphlets were more often able to give an answer, and gave a correct answer more often.

Particularly in the most prejudiced college the readers of the Unesco booklets had begun to understand that Negroes are less ambitious because

they labour under discrimination, work under unfavourable conditions, and suffer from inadequate education. They had learned that prejudice is a form of scapegoating, which protects the ego of the prejudiced who projects his own undesirable characteristics upon the minority. They gained insight into the manner in which prejudice serves as a crutch for the prejudiced ego, gives him a false feeling of superiority and stifles his ambition. They saw how prejudice prevents the majority member from solving his own problems, because he attributes his own failure to others.

While we noted that *Race and Psychology* did little to improve knowledge, it nevertheless helped to a moderate extent to create a better understanding of the reasons for the differences between racial and ethnic groups. This was particularly so in the middle west where the students reading the pamphlets had begun to understand that the high Jewish I.Q. resulted from the group's traditional emphasis on intellectual pursuits, and constituted an attempt to compensate for the handicap of discrimination.

While some discussion groups did slightly better than classes which only read the pamphlets, much appeared to depend upon the ability of the teacher to direct the discussion, pointing to the need of adding a discussion guide to accompany the series. Altogether, however, the effect of the pamphlets on understanding was not as marked and clear cut as the improvement achieved in the answers to the factual information questions.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

To what extent, if any, did the gain in information and understanding lead to a change of attitude? Comparing the students who were asked to read the pamphlets with those not assigned them, we find a small though statistically not reliable change.

Because our midwestern control group was initially slightly more prejudiced than those midwesterners who were exposed to the pamphlets, we decided to compare separately all subjects who had a high initial prejudice. In this manner we were able to eliminate the error introduced by inadequate matching. We then find that the changes registered for the total sample represents

TABLE 8. Changes in Attitudes as a Result of Exposure to the Unesco Pamphlets as Measured in the Projective Test

Projective scores (after test)	Total sample		High prejudice on initial attitude test	
	Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental
Low prejudice	29 %	35 %	21 %	34 % ¹
Medium prejudice	35 %	34 %	40 %	34 %
High prejudice	36 %	31 %	39 %	32 %
No.	62	220	37	122

¹ Difference significant at 5 per cent level.

an underestimate. Our projective test indicates a significant shift in the direction of a reduction of prejudice particularly in the originally more prejudiced group.

The earlier discussion on the validity of the projective information test indicates that the test is more likely to be valid for the more prejudiced individuals. These subjects are usually less well informed and hence less likely to guess the correct answer on our test. Moreover, we are actually more certain about the initial attitudes of those scoring high in the initial attitude test. This group consists of persons who are more prejudiced and willing to admit their biases. Individuals who score low on the original test may either be genuinely less prejudiced, or more highly prejudiced but unwilling to admit it, and perhaps even unaware of their own prejudice.

While changes in information were smaller in the middle west than in the east, we nevertheless find that even the midwestern group experienced a reduction of prejudice after reading the pamphlets. Although the change in the direction of more positive attitudes is twice as great in the east as in the middle west, it is gratifying to note that a change occurred in spite of the strong resistance of the more prejudiced western readers.

Deeply ingrained attitudes are generally hardly changed by a single exposure to a series of educational pamphlets. Moreover, there is some residual doubt as to the accuracy with which our projective test measures change. For these reasons we had supplemented the projective scale with a questionnaire indicating the student's willingness to participate in the Unesco educational effort. It is more reasonable to expect specific changes relating to the expressed willingness to support a given programme than general changes.

Moreover, if the willingness to support the Unesco programme expressed by the students had been acted upon, larger changes might have resulted not only because the participants would have been occupied with the race problem for a longer time, but also because larger numbers of people could have been reached. Finally, this type of scale measuring the 'action' or 'motivational' component of attitudes is often considered as more significant than scales aiming at expressions of feeling and the cognitive component of attitudes.

TABLE 9. Effect of Exposure to Pamphlets on Willingness to Co-operate in the Unesco Educational Programme

Willing to:	East		Middle west			
	Total		Total		High prejudice	
	Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental
Vote for pamphlets	37 %	77 %	64 %	81 %	69 %	65 %
Join committee	24 %	51 %	50 %	41 %	50 %	34 %
Lead discussions	9 %	35 %	44 %	34 %	42 %	24 %
Give money	26 %	58 %	48 %	65 %	54 %	46 %
Help research	33 %	64 %	54 %	67 %	50 %	64 %
No.	46	138	50	106	26	41

Exposure to the pamphlets considerably increased the student's willingness to aid in the Unesco intergroup relations programme. For example, 37 per cent of the students in the control group were willing to give money to help the Unesco educational programme compared to 61 per cent of those in classes asked to read the pamphlets. The proportion of students willing to give time to work on the research programme increased by 20 per cent, the percentage of those who were willing to support a move persuading the college to make the pamphlets required reading in introductory social science courses by 28 per cent.

The smallest change occurred in regard to the students' willingness to act as discussion leaders for high school or college groups designed to improve race relations. Differences in personality may furnish an explanation. Many students may not feel equipped to lead discussions, may be afraid to be in the limelight.

The change again was greater among the less prejudiced students, and more pronounced in the east than in the middle west. The highly prejudiced midwestern students exposed to the pamphlets were decidedly less willing to help in the programme than those not exposed to the Unesco material. They were, however, willing to aid in the research programme, perhaps in order to find out 'what is wrong' with the programme. The reversal of the trend among the more highly prejudiced midwestern students becomes understandable if we recall that this group also contained the largest number of students having a less positive attitude toward the United Nations. In contrast, we find in the east both among the low prejudice and the high prejudice group a greater willingness to support the programme resulting from exposure to the pamphlets.

One may expect that the effect of the pamphlets on our midwestern sample would have been more favorable if less pressure had been employed to make them read the material and, perhaps, if the introductions to the study had been done by persons more familiar with the work of Unesco and more in sympathy with the project. The more widespread resistance of the midwestern readers diminished the effectiveness of the booklets compared with our eastern sample. On the other hand it is important to remark in conclusion that even here, apart from a reduction in prejudice, the exposure to the pamphlets and the study had made students more familiar with the work of Unesco and created more favourable attitudes toward the organization.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

Educational publications can be effective only if they reach their audience. It would have been of interest for Unesco to know how many, and what type of students in terms of social and ethnic background, racial attitudes and attitudes toward UN, would have read the pamphlets if they were deposited in college libraries but not assigned as required reading.

In view of the results of the high school study, indicating widespread resistance toward the use of Unesco materials, it would be desirable to ascertain from a cross-section of school and college administrators, how many are now or would be willing in the future to make use of Unesco material generally and the pamphlet series on race more specifically. At the same time one could also study how many administrators are familiar with the series. Providing

them with copies of the pamphlet one may also find out to what extent these pamphlets meet their needs, appear to them as useful either for classroom assignments or as reference material for teachers. To the extent that the pamphlets are designed as reference material for teachers and other inter-group relations leaders, a parallel study of audience reactions of a small cross-section of influential leaders in different countries, determining their needs and the extent to which the pamphlets meet their needs, would be valuable.

Today's college students represent a highly selected audience in so far as they have had a greater amount of education in race relations and about race differences, and have been exposed more recently. The effect of the pamphlets may, therefore, be expected to be greater among an older adult public, capable of comprehending the material, but not equally saturated with education in the field of intergroup relations, thus being unfamiliar with much material known to the students.

On the other hand, the students living in the more liberal atmosphere of the college are under less pressure to maintain and express traditional prejudices. Hence, there may well be more resistance to change outside the college. It may be of value, therefore, to study the impact of the pamphlets on adult groups of different educational backgrounds living in more or less prejudiced areas of the country.

Of even greater interest would be a repetition of this study outside the United States, and not only because there is reason to believe that students in other countries are less familiar with materials presented in the Unesco series than American students. There is considerable evidence that exposure to mere factual information concerning racial differences has little effect on improving prejudiced attitudes in the United States. (It is not yet known, however, to what extent information concerning the causes of prejudice and the harm it does to the prejudiced individual would change attitudes.) Not only are there psychological reasons for the maintenance of prejudiced attitudes, but social pressures in a highly discriminatory society often prevent substantial changes in opinions and behaviour.

We do not yet know whether prejudice is used in other countries to the same extent in order to bolster up a weak ego. We do not know whether we would find abroad the same correlation between authoritarian character structure and prejudice. To the extent that these correlations may be absent or weaker, to that extent would education against prejudice have a greater chance in other countries.

Europeans experience less social pressure toward the maintenance of racial prejudices. Most European countries have none or only numerically small racial minorities. There may be a greater tendency to release repressed hostility in other directions, toward other classes of one's own society or toward other nations. For these reasons alone education through the dissemination of information may be expected to be more successful. There is reason to believe that Europeans know less about the topics treated in the pamphlets. According to Dr. Silvey of the BBC the content of Klineberg's *Race and Psychology* for example, is unfamiliar to the British reader. While the dissemination of information concerning racial differences in Europe would be less important from an internal domestic point of view, it would be valuable as a factor influencing public opinion in regard to international relations.

THE FOUNDATION FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

Viottstraat 41, Amsterdam

The Foundation for Cultural Co-operation (Stichting voor Culturele Samenwerking; Sticusa), Viottstraat 41, Amsterdam, was established in 1948 for the purpose of improving cultural relations between the Netherlands and its former colonial territories—Indonesia, Surinam, and the Netherlands Antilles. The foundation receives a subsidy from the Netherlands Government, but is completely free and independent in carrying out its work.

One aspect of its work is to encourage—and if necessary to organize—the exchange of persons and cultural commodities. It also encourages interest in Western culture, especially the various aspects of Dutch culture in the above-mentioned countries, and at the same time interest in and knowledge of the cultural manifestations of the Netherlands and, to some extent, elsewhere. Sticusa has its central offices in Amsterdam, with representatives in Jakarta, Macassar, and Paramaribo, and it co-operates with other cultural institutions in Indonesia, Surinam, and the Netherlands Antilles.

The activities of the foundation are supervised by an executive board composed of six members in accordance with principles laid down by its foundation council which has 22 members and determines general policy. Administration is in the hands of the director of the foundation.

The promotion of cultural relations between a country of a pronounced Western European character and lands overseas having multiform cultures brings with it, of course, any number of difficulties. This kind of work is new, and leads to the investigation of fields which were only a short time ago still unexplored. The organizing of cultural relations between peoples is, after all, a concern of our age of technology which, while it minimizes distances and increases a thousand fold the possibilities of contact, has still not resolved the question of what is salutary and what detrimental in such contact.

Sticusa is not specifically a research institute, but it does sometimes conduct research when that serves its purpose, and willingly lends its support to the research of others in its fields of activity. In order to maintain good cultural relations it is necessary to know what one has to offer, and even more what are the needs of the partner, viewed in their social context.

Sticusa has therefore sponsored or supported various research projects in Surinam so as to become better acquainted with the cultural and social *milieux* of the various ethnic groups in that plural society. The projects have comprised studies of the linguistic problems in Surinam by Professor W. Gs. Hellinga of the University of Amsterdam and Professor Willem Pee of the University of Liège,¹ of the Creole group by Professor R. A. J. van Lier of the University of Leiden,² of the Indonesian group by Dr. J. Ismael of Jakarta,³ and of the Hindustani by Dr. C. J. M. de Klerk, C. ss. R.,⁴ and A. H. N. Verwey, LL.M. of Leiden.⁵

As regards the Netherlands Antilles, Sticusa has given a grant to Dr. G. J. Kruijer of the University of Amsterdam for a sociological and geographical investigation for a development plan of the Windward Islands,⁶ while support of another sociological research project in the Antilles is being considered.

¹ A part of the results of this project were reported to Unesco by Professor Hellinga in 1951 in the mimeographed pamphlet *Education in Surinam (Dutch Guiana) and the Linguistic Situation*.

² See his historical introduction *Samenleving in een grensgebied* (Society in a Border Land), The Hague 1949.

³ Dr. Ismael's mimeographed report in the Dutch language is available at Sticusa.

⁴ See his *Cultus en ritueel van het orthodoxe Hindoeïsme in Suriname* (The Cult and Ritual of Orthodox Hinduism in Surinam), Amsterdam (Dissertation, University of Leyden) 1951, and *De immigratie der Hindostanen in Suriname* (The Immigration of Hindustani in Surinam), Amsterdam 1953.

⁵ No report is as yet available.

⁶ See *Richtlijnen voor de economische en sociale ontwikkeling der Bovenwindse eilanden* (Guiding Principles for the Economic and Social Development of the Dutch Windward Islands), volume II, Amsterdam 1953; volume I (Descriptive Section) is in the press.

Owing to the present circumstances in Indonesia it has proved in practice quite difficult to undertake any new research projects there.¹

THE RESEARCH CENTER IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The centre was established in the autumn of 1951. Its main function is to serve as a clearing house of ideas in an area of the social sciences, contributions to which are made by many specialists who often have no or little direct contact with each other. With this objective in mind the centre publishes, under the editorship of Mr. R. R. Wohl, a journal, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, which appears five times a year and which is distributed to social scientists in different fields of specialization in many countries, both advanced and underdeveloped. The centre also welcomes participation by its members in national and international conferences, and the collaboration of its members with agencies of the United States Government and of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, in research as well as in technical mission work. The centre also occasionally sponsors conferences on topics in the general field of its interest. For example from 24 to 26 May 1954 a conference was held at the University of Chicago on the problem of 'The Role of Cities in Economic Development and Cultural Change'.

In addition to these co-ordinating and co-operative activities, which bring it into contact with persons and institutions outside the University of Chicago, the centre carries on a series of research projects of its own. One project, under the general direction of Mr. B. F. Hoselitz, deals with the attempt to evaluate and compare theories of economic development and cultural change with a view to obtaining more unified and generally accepted theoretical propositions in this field. Another project, also directed by Mr. Hoselitz, is concerned with the study of mobilization and ultimate self-commitment of a peasant or 'primitive' population to industrial labour. This project involves comparative studies of factories located in several underdeveloped countries, including a careful study of the composition, forms of recruitment, habits of work, income and consumption patterns and other features of their labour force. A third project, under the general direction of Mr. R. I. Crane, is concerned with the identification and characteristics of developing entrepreneurial elites in a number of underdeveloped countries. A fourth project, under the direction of Mr. H. S. Perloff, is concerned with the study of conceptions of social policy in economic development plans in developed and underdeveloped countries; in this connexion several reports of the World Bank, the Colombo Plan and the five-year plan of the Government of India have been critically examined. In addition to these studies which are in progress, several other studies are projected, e.g., one on the relations between differential land-ownership systems and the process of economic development in selected lesser developed regions, under the direction of Mr. N. S. Ginsburg, another on the labour problem in Mexico under the direction of Mr. S. Rottenberg, and a project on the development of a managerial class and labour-management relations in Egypt under the direction of Mr. F. H. Harbison.

The publication of all the studies currently in progress is contemplated. They will

¹ The thirty-second issue of the Sticusa periodical *Cultureel Nieuws Indonesië 1953* (Cultural News) contains a list of more than 600 books and articles published since 1940 in Dutch, English, French and German, concerning cultural, social, economic and political aspects of Indonesia.

appear either as separate monographs or as articles. Some of the more important will be published in the research centre's journal, either as articles or in the form of 'special numbers'. The rates of subscription for this periodical are \$2.50 for scholars and students, and \$4 for libraries and institutions.

THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Department of Sociology, under the Faculty of Political Science, offers a programme of courses leading to the degrees of master of arts and doctor of philosophy. A core of training in research methods, social theory and statistics is required of all candidates. The remainder of each student's courses may be selected from fields of study meeting his particular interests.

It is the judgment of the department that, with the present-day complexity of sociology, it is not feasible for a graduate department to teach all the subdivisions of the field. Consequently, the curriculum focusses on several selected areas of sociology which are the specialities of its members (e.g., demography, methodology, political sociology, public opinion and mass communications, social theory) and omits other traditional sociological subjects (e.g., criminology, delinquency, industrial sociology). Graduate courses in the selected specialities are given by Professors Edmund de S. Brunner, William C. Casey, Kingsley Davis, William J. Goode, Herbert H. Hyman, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Seymour M. Lipset, Robert S. Lynd, Robert K. Merton, C. Wright Mills and Lee M. Wiggins.

By and large, this programme of instruction is closely linked with that of research, both through regular graduate seminars and through the work of the research arm of the department—the Bureau of Applied Social Research, of which Dr. Charles Y. Glock is director. The bureau utilizes the services of members of the teaching staff and maintains a research staff of its own. At present the bureau is engaged in research in six major fields: communications, methodology, occupations and professions, political behaviour, religion, and urbanization. (A list of publications of the bureau is available on request.)

At least three of the current projects of the bureau bear directly upon the problems of economic motivation and cultural pattern in technological change, with special reference to underdeveloped areas. These are studies in world literacy, world urbanization, and mass communications in the Middle East.

The project on world literacy and illiteracy is concerned with the problem of social and economic development in the world's underdeveloped countries. Literacy and school enrolment are used as an index of educational progress in the different countries and colonies of the world, and an analysis is to be made of the major factors governing this development. Special attention is given to those areas or countries that are behind or ahead in educational development as compared with the development in other parts of the economic and social structure, in order to illuminate the role of education in the social and economic transformation of underdeveloped nations. The research is being conducted under the direction of Professor Kingsley Davis and Dr. Hilda Hertz. Results will be published in a monograph about 1955.

Drs. David and Hertz are also engaged in research on the pattern of world urbanization and the causes behind the urbanization process. This study pays special attention to urbanization in underdeveloped countries, analysing factors leading to the growth of large cities in countries which are low in industrial development. Attention is also

given to the study of technological changes. This research is shortly to be published as a book.

The third major project of the bureau which bears on underdeveloped countries is recent research on mass communications and social change in the Middle East. The purpose of this research is to explore the social and psychological correlates of communications behaviour in a transitional society, and to develop a typology in terms of which the differential roles and functions of mass media among various segments of the population will be described and analysed. The project is under the direction of Mr. Paul L. Berkman of the bureau and Dr. Daniel Lerner and Mrs. Lucille Pevsner of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Results are to be published in a book early in 1955.

In addition to these three projects on selected aspects of economic and social development, members of the department are currently engaged in other researches, notably in methodology, occupations and professions, and political sociology.

THE COLOMBIAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY

Calle 74, No. 11-89, Bogotá

The Colombian Institute of Sociology was founded at the end of 1950 by Professor Rafael Bernal Jiménez under the auspices of the Ministry of National Education, following the agreement reached by Latin American delegates at the International Congress of Sociology which met at Zürich during the same year, that sociological study centres should be set up in their respective countries for the purpose of co-ordinating American investigations in this important scientific field.

In most Latin American countries centres of this kind have been established, under the aegis of the Government or of state universities.

The regular members of the Colombian Institute of Sociology are teachers of general and American sociology in all the university establishments of Bogotá, while correspondent members are chosen from among distinguished scholars in the chief provincial cities. The chairmen of most of the similar institutes in Latin American countries are also correspondent members of the Colombian institute.

The institute's chief aim is to encourage the study of sociology in Colombia and to co-ordinate its investigations with those being carried out in other South American countries.

At the beginning of 1952 the institute agreed on a plan of work in two different but related fields: a seminar on the theme 'Sociology of Rural Life in Colombia', and a series of public lectures to be given by the regular members of the institute on the basic subjects of national sociology.

The theme for the seminar, proposed by the Ministry of Education with the object of contributing to the investigation the Government is carrying out into the problems of rural life, was divided into the following sections:

Introduction to rural sociology, social progress and the psychology of the rural environment; the determining of natural regions and cultural or anthropogeographical areas; evaluation of physical factors determining a given region; ethnical composition and its problems in the rural areas of Colombia; sociology of the rural family; housing and clothing problems; the feeding of the rural population in Colombia; alcoholism amongst the rural population; rural education; the civilization of the mountain slopes and the civilization of the plain in Colombia; land tenure and laws of rural property; problems of rural handicrafts in Colombia; family rural industry; security and protection in rural areas; wages and conditions of work in rural areas; causes of the depopulation of the countryside and ways of preventing it.

The series of public lectures dealt with the following subjects: immigration and cross-cultural influences; the idea of solidarity and the teaching of history; the anthropogeographical problems of Colombia and the rural school; regional bases for rural education in Colombia; the influence of climate on the life of the Colombian people; food resources of Colombia; the civilization of the mountain slopes and the civilization of the plain; Colombian life under the colonial regime in the sixteenth century; the sociology of revolutions; closing of the session.

The work of the seminar began with a study of the basis of change in the rural school, and continued with important statements about climatic zones and rural education, the feeding of country children, etc., and will continue with the submission of new works in course of preparation.

This series of lectures took place during the months of September and October only, and was accompanied by exhibitions of outstanding interest which drew a large audience every week to the hall of honour of the National Library.

The work in both fields of activity is organized by the secretariat of the institute, and its publication in book form will be a contribution of inestimable value to members of parliament, legislators, teachers and publicists. This publication will also be the best message Colombian sociology could possibly send to other countries of the South American continent, through the channel of their scientific associations.

The Colombian Institute of Sociology has also received invitations to send representatives to international scientific congresses, such as the Inter-American Sociological Congress, which met in August in La Paz (Bolivia), and the Second Latin American Sociological Congress, held last year in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), at which the Colombian institute was presented with the medal of honour (*medalla de honor*)—the highest distinction for scientific investigation.

At present, the Colombian Institute of Sociology is making preparations for a national congress on sociology, to be held in Bogotá and to which will be invited, in addition to active members of the institute, all teachers of sociology in the various universities of Colombia and the leading scholars and publicists in the field of the social sciences.

THE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The Institute of Public Administration is a non-political organization founded in 1922 and now constituted as a trust. Its objects are to advance the study of public administration and to facilitate the exchange of information on all aspects of the subject.

The President of the institute is Viscount Waverley of Westdean, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., who was formerly Sir John Anderson. The management of the institute's affairs is in the hands of an executive council elected by the members and consisting of senior officials from the civil service, local government and the publicly owned industries, and of university teachers. The chairman for 1953-54 is Mr. D. N. Chester, C.B.E., Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford; the vice-chairman is Mrs. D. C. L. Johnstone, Assistant Secretary, H.M. Treasury. The institute's research activities are directed by its research committee, a standing committee of the executive council. The chairman of this committee is Mr. R. W. Bell. The institute employs a full-time staff working under the director, Mr. Raymond Nottage.

Individual membership is open to any person employed or formerly employed in the public services or in the teaching or study of public administration or related subjects. Corporate membership is available to public authorities. Among the institute's corporate members are the United Kingdom Central Government, the Government

of Northern Ireland, the main publicly owned industries, and many local government authorities and hospital authorities.

The institute has regional groups in the United Kingdom and Australia. It is also the British National Section of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences.

The institute's activities include conferences, lectures and study courses.

The quarterly journal of the institute, *Public Administration*, is now in its thirty-second year. It enjoys a world-wide reputation for authoritative articles by distinguished contributors. It is supplied free to members.

During recent years the institute has developed its research programme and has initiated a series of major research studies carried out by study groups, each assisted by a full-time research worker. The first two of these studies are on changes in the structure of executive government since 1914, and alternative sources of local revenue. The reports will be published in due course.

A series of books on Government departments is in preparation with official co-operation. The volumes on *Home Office* and *Foreign Office* will be published shortly.

Other current research projects of the institute deal with public enterprise in Sweden, committee system in local government, interviewing for selection of staff, and joint negotiating machinery in local government.

Recent publications have included *Introduction to French Local Government* (by Brian Chapman), and *Staff Reporting* (by E. Anstey and Isabel Menzies); and symposia on *Financial Control: Its Place in Management; Large Scale Organisation; British Government since 1918*; and *United Kingdom Administration and International Organisations*.

The institute also undertakes detailed investigations into practical problems common to various types of organization. Reports have been issued on *Advertisements for Staff; Minutes and Reports; Letters of Appointment*; and *Official Travelling: Cost of Transport*. Others are in preparation.

SÃO PAULO SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY

In May 1954 the School of Sociology and Politics in São Paulo, Brazil, completed the twenty-first year of its existence. Founded in 1933 by a group of scholars, it defined its aim as the renewal of the teaching staffs of the country and the intensification of study and social scientific investigation. For 13 years the institution functioned as an independent school, but since 1946 it has been recognized by the Federal Government and placed under the permanent supervision of the Higher Education Division of the Ministry of Education.

To celebrate its twentieth anniversary the school decided to establish itself in its own quarters. The new building is situated at 522 General Jardim Street, São Paulo; it affords excellent conditions for carrying on the school's courses, seminars, lectures, etc.

Among the investigations conducted by the school in 1952 were 'Itapetininga' and 'A industria em Itapetininga' (Industry in Itapetininga) (Oracy Nogueira); 'Açorianos em Santa Catarina' (Settlers from the Azores in the State of Santa Catarina) (Octavio da Costa Eduardo and Esdras Borges Costa); 'Historia dos empreendedores no Brasil' (History of entrepreneurs in Brazil) (Mauro Brandao Lopes, Hélio Schlittler Silva, Roberto Pinto de Souza and Nicia Villela Luz); 'Indices de preços no comercio exterior do Brasil' (Price indexes in Brazil's foreign trade) (Hélio Schlittler Silva, Jamil Munhoz Bailao and Orlando Figueiredo); 'Preconceitos raciais em grupos minoritarios' (Race prejudices in minority groups) (Cicero Cristiano de Souza and Natalia Rodrigues Bittencourt); 'Xique-Xique' (Fernando Altenfelder Silva, Maria Galvao Cardoso and Candido Procopio F. de Camargo); 'Correntina' (Levy Cruz, Frederico de Barros

Brotero, Gasta Thomaz de Almeida and Aparecida Joly Gouveia); 'Cabrobo' (Octavio da Costa Eduardo, Plinio Figueiredo, Natalia Rodrigues Bittencourt and Arthur de Moraes Cesar); 'Piaçabussu' (Alceu Maynard de Araujo, Joao Vicente Cardenuto and Noemias P. de Toledo); 'Pompeu' (Esdras Borges Costa); 'A regiao do Vale do São Francisco' (The São Francisco Valley region) (Donald Pierson); 'Productividade da mao de obra industrial no Brasil' (The productivity of industrial labour in Brazil) (Nuno Fidelino de Figueiredo, Jamil Munhoz Bailao and Orlando Figueiredo); 'Chonin' (Kalervo Oberg and Alfonso Trujillo Ferrari); 'O papel do comercio exterior na economia brasileira' (The importance of foreign trade in the Brazilian economy); 'Evolução do comercio exterior do Brasil' (The development of Brazil's foreign trade); 'Tendencias e caracteristicas do balanço de pagamentos' (Movement and features of the balance of payments); 'O mecanismo dos pagamentos internacionais' (The machinery for international settlements) (Hélio Schlittler Silva and Jamil Munhoz Bailao); 'Reconhecimento geral dos problemas metodologicos de ordem estatistica e de ordem economica da produtividade' (General study of the statistical and economic problems of method arising in connexion with productivity); 'Alguns aspectos da estructura da industria no Brasil e no Estado de São Paulo' (Some features of the structure of industry in Brazil and in the State of São Paulo); 'Estudo estatistico da concentração da industria, Municipio de São Paulo' (Statistical study of the concentration of industry in the municipality of São Paulo) (Nuno Fidelino de Figueiredo); 'Um estudo comparativo de sistemas de parentesco da América do Sul' (Comparative study of kinship systems in South America) (Antonio Rubbo Müller, Alfonso Trujillo Ferrari, Augusta Barbosa de C. Ribeiro and Wilma Chiara Schultz).

In addition to *Sociological Review*, which appears regularly, the school has decided to issue a series of publications giving the results of the investigations that have been completed. Two monographs, opening a series of *Studies of Theoretical and Applied Economics*, appeared: *Alguns aspectos do problema da produtividade* (Some aspects of the problem of productivity), prepared by Professor Nuno Fidelino de Figueiredo, and *Indices de preços no comercio exterior do Brasil* (Price indexes in Brazil's foreign trade) by Professor Hélio Schlittler da Silva.

THE INSTITUTE FOR THE COMPARISON AND RAPPROCUREMENT OF THE VARIOUS BODIES OF EUROPEAN LAW

Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences, Saar University, Saarbrucken

A university institute for the comparison and rapprochement of the various bodies of European Law has been set up in connexion with the Saar University, Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences.

In keeping with the international vocation of the Saar University, the institute is alike a centre of research into comparative law and an institution for training specialists in research work. In view of the geographical position of the university—on the frontier between two civilizations—and the fact that its teaching staff and students belong to various nationalities, the mission of the institute consists in the first place in bringing together and comparing the Latin and Teutonic legal systems, then in instituting comparisons between these two systems and those of the Anglo-Saxon countries and the countries of eastern Europe, and finally in studying thoroughly the nascent law of the supranational European organizations (beginning with the Coal and Steel Pool).

Several sections have already entered on their work in the new institute: they include

the research sections for mining law; the law of the European communities; transport and communications law; private law; administrative law and administrative science; the comparative history of law; procedural law; and labour law. Other study groups are to be set up and publications will be devoted principally to the legal problems which would arise from the integration of the European States in supranational communities.

The institute and the research sections are under a joint direction, based on the permanent co-operation of representatives of the French and German legal systems.

The institute, an autonomous body within the Faculty of Law and Economic Science, is controlled by a president, who is dean of the faculty; he is assisted by two secretaries (Professor Langrod, Paris, and Professor Lange, Munich), who are themselves members of the faculty.

A documentation and legal terminology centre is being created.

The statutes of the institute provide for contact with the scientific bodies throughout the world which are pursuing the same objects.

INSTITUTE OF WORLD AFFAIRS

66 Fifth Avenue, New York

The Institute of World Affairs, founded in 1943, is the research division of the New School for Social Research, an institution of adult education on both the graduate and the undergraduate level. The purpose of the institute is to serve as a research centre for members of the New School faculties, and also for other scholars who are drawn to the school by the strongly international character of its interests and its personnel.

One of the principal activities of the institute is the study of present-day European problems. A major study on religion in Germany today is now in process (to be completed by the end of 1955), under the direction of Carl Mayer, based on extensive study in Germany by Dr. Mayer and three assistants. Published works dealing with European problems include *Federalism and Regionalism in Germany: The Division of Prussia* by Arnold Brecht; *Military Occupation and the Rule of Law: Occupation Government in the Rhineland, 1918-1923* by Ernst Fraenkel; *German Radio Propaganda: Report on Home Broadcasts during the War* by Ernst Kris and Hans Speier; *European Population Transfers, 1939-1945* by Joseph B. Schechtman; *Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture* by Bienstock, Schwarz and Yugow, under the editorship of Arthur Feiler and Jacob Marschak; *French Labor from Popular Front to Liberation* by Henry W. Ehrmann. In shorter monographs, printed as occasional papers, the institute's European studies include works on the new German constitution and on German economic problems.

Another aspect of the institute's activity concerns problems connected with industrialization. Publications include *Industrialization and Labor: Social Aspects of Economic Development* by Wilbert E. Moore; *Education for an Industrial Age* by Alfred Kähler and Ernest Hamburger; and occasional papers on theoretical aspects of industrialization, on small industry in the economic development of underdeveloped regions, on primitives and peasants in industry, on deliberate industrialization, and on the significance of foreign trade for domestic employment. Within the past year the institute has published *National Incomes and International Trade* by Hans Neisser and Franco Modigliani, a major work, based on years of study, in which the tools of econometric analysis are used to examine the effect that fluctuations of income in the leading industrial countries exert upon the size and composition of industrial and non-industrial countries' imports and exports.

The institute has conducted a number of technical investigations for various govern-

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ment agencies. These have been primarily in the field of communication and content analysis.

The institute is interested also in problems attendant on the analysis of national character and attitudes—including area studies of specific communities, especially those with a high proportion of foreign-born population, and studies on the social assimilation of newcomers. Numerous other studies are now going forward under the institute's auspices, including an analysis of the United Nations Charter, both the 'written' and the 'living', and an investigation of the economic use of resources in the world sugar industry.

In collaboration with the Graduate Faculty of the New School, the institute has established special workshop courses for training in the methods and problems of research, on both a theoretical and a practical level. One such workshop is concentrated on economic research, another on the fast developing field of sociological investigation and analysis.

II. REVIEW OF DOCUMENTS PERIODICALS AND BOOKS

DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

LEGAL QUESTIONS

Request of the General Assembly for the Codification of the Principles of International Law concerning State Responsibility. Memorandum submitted by Mr. F. V. Garcia-Amador, member of the International Law Commission. 10 March 1954, 12 p. A/CN.4/80. [Sc.]¹ The General Assembly requested the International Law Commission to prepare such a codification, which is important for international relations. Mr. Garcia-Amador considers the scope of this request and suggests a working plan.

Nationality, including Statelessness. Third Report on the Elimination or Reduction of Statelessness, by Roberto Cordova, Special Rapporteur. 11 March 1954, 48 p. A/CN.4/81.

[Sc.] State of the problem and comments on revised drafts of international instruments.

REFUGEES

The Situation of the United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund. A/AC.36/31, 29 January 1954, 15 p., A/AC.36/31/Add.1, 26 February 1954.

[Pr. Org. Ej. Dp. St.] At its eighth session, the General Assembly decided to continue the United Nations High Commissioner's Office for Refugees for a period of five years as from 1 January 1954. The United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund is the only international body able to finance emergency assistance for groups of refugees in areas where the local authorities defray only part of their maintenance expenses. Statistics and analysis of requirements and available resources.

The Promotion of Permanent Solutions for the Problems of Refugees who are within the Competence of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 29 January 1954, 22 p. A/AC.36/32.

[Pr. Org. Ej. Dp. St.] Work carried out and problems to be overcome in connexion with the emigration and economic and social integration of refugees not wishing to be repatriated.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

STATISTICAL QUESTIONS

Documents and Work of the Eighth Session of the Statistical Commission

The following are the main papers prepared for this meeting:

¹ For explanation of abbreviations, see p. 528.

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Review of International Statistics. 26 February 1954, 38 p. E/CN.3/170.

[Sc.] A general review of the development of statistics throughout the world (E/CN.3/148) was presented to the seventh session of the commission. The above paper gives an account of progress since that date, and dwells more particularly on work relating to the preparation and application of statistical standards for the improvement of international comparability.

Indexes of Quantum and Unit Value for External Trade. 4 February 1954, 6 p. E/CN.3/171.
[Sc. Pr.] Improvement of the international comparability of indexes of quantum and unit value. General review of the problem and the commission's recommendations.

Index Numbers of Wholesale Prices. 15 February 1954, 6 p. E/CN.3/175.

[Sc. Pr.] Progress of comparability in the calculation of index numbers of wholesale prices, as between different countries, with a view to facilitating economic analysis.

Brief discussion of the problem and recommendations.

Social Statistics. 9 February 1954, 14 p. E/CN.3/178.

[Sc.] In response to a request by the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary-General made a study of conditions conducive to the development of the various branches of social statistics: social stratification, distribution of income and wealth, permeability of social classes, conditions of work and employment, special aspects of the rural welfare service, social security, family living standards and protection of the family, health problems, nutrition, housing, protection of children, assistance to the aged and physically handicapped persons, social expenditure.

International Convention Relating to Economic Statistics. 7 p. (plus corrigendum and addendum). E/CN.3/180, E/CN.3/180/Corr.1, E/CN.3/180/Add.1.

[Sc.] Brief survey of the legal problems that may arise from possible contradictions between the recommendations of the Economic and Social Council with regard to statistics and the provisions of the convention.

Annotated List of International Standards for Statistics. 16 February 1954, 31 p. E/CN.3/181.

[Sc. Pr.] An annotated list of the concepts, definitions, methods and principles of statistical classification, as set forth in international conventions, together with the final rules and recommendations adopted by the competent bodies of international organizations.

Progress Report on Balance of Payments Statistics. 4 March 1954, 9 p. E/CN.3/182.

[Sc.] Work on this subject carried out by the International Monetary Fund in 1953. The annex contains a brief description of the fifth volume of the balance of payments yearbook. The form in which the Fund's balance of payments statistics are presented was radically altered in 1953.

Population Census Activities. 9 February 1954, 11 p. E/CN.3/185.

[Sc. Pr.] Summary of the United Nations work in connexion with censuses (methodological studies, preparation of standards, training of specialists and practical demonstrations, expert advice, assembly and publication of the results of recent censuses), and the commission's recommendations concerning the possible international extension of this work.

Map of censuses taken in different countries between 1945 and 1953 and main headings used in census tables.

Progress Report on Vital Statistics Activities. 4 February 1954, 6 p. E/CN.3/186.

[Sc. Org.] Brief survey of the commission's work for the establishment of an international vital statistics system. Recommendations for the improvement and co-ordination of these statistics.

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Housing Statistics. 9 February 1954, 17 p. (plus addendum). E/CN.3/187, E/CN.3/187/Add.1.

[Sc. Pr. St.] Present international position of housing statistics. Commission's recommendations for the improvement of these statistics; prospects. Numerous tables.

International Chamber of Commerce Study on Distribution Censuses. 3 March 1954, 6 p. E/CN.3/190.

[Sc.] In 1951, the International Chamber of Commerce published a pamphlet describing the work carried out in 13 countries in connexion with distribution censuses. The United Nations then requested the ICC to undertake a broader survey. The document under review gives an account of the present state and aims of this work.

Conference of European Statisticians. 26 January 1954, 2 p.

[Sc.] Short account of the conference, which dealt with two technical questions—statistics of external trade and wholesale price statistics.

National Income

Methods of National Income Statistics in ECAFE Countries. 21 January 1954, 24 p. E/CN.11/STAT/Conf.3/4.

[Sc. Dp.] Prepared for the Third Regional Conference of Statisticians (New Delhi, March 1954). List of national income tables and national accountancy statistics compiled since about the year 1930 in various countries in the region, with a bibliography and analysis of the structure of these calculations.

Standards of Living

Report on International Definition and Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living. March 1954, 95 p., printed, \$ 1.80. E/CN.3/179-1954.IV.5.

[Sc. St.] Report of a committee of experts convened in June 1953 by the Secretary-General of the United Nations jointly with the ILO and Unesco. These experts considered the methods best suited to the definition and measurement of standards of living and their variations in the different countries, with a view to international comparison. Their report is a general review of the problems now involved in the measurement of standards of living: methodological basis, choice of indicators, proposals for bringing into line and improving the methods used and developing new measures. Reference documents.

AGRICULTURE, LAND TENURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, ETC.

European Agriculture. A Statement of Problems. 1954, 83 p., printed, \$.80. E/ECE/175.

[Sc. Ej. St. Dp.] Paper prepared by the Economic Commission for Europe and the FAO on the problem of modifying the policy followed by European countries in connexion with agricultural production and trade in agricultural products with a view to improving the general economic situation of Europe and the living conditions of the peasantry. Main factors influencing European productivity and agriculture, food consumption, agricultural policy and trade in agricultural products in Western and Eastern Europe.

Rural Progress through Co-operatives. The Place of Co-operative Associations in Agricultural Development. 1954, 112 p., printed, \$.75. E/2524.

[Pr. Sc. Ej. Dp. Org.] Paper prepared by the United Nations in co-operation with the ILO and the FAO on the possibilities offered by free co-operative associations for raising agricultural output, while safeguarding the independence of farmers: general survey of the problem of improving agriculture and rural life, detailed analysis of the part that may be played by co-operatives in this field, based on concrete examples drawn from practical experience in varied social and economic circumstances. The

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main problems dealt with are the aims and methods of co-operative associations, factors making for their success, their action in connexion with the distribution of land, technical progress, financing, purchases and sales, health, education and vocational training, grouped farms, collective and communal farms, work done by the ILO and the FAO for rural co-operation.

Progress in Land Reform. Analysis of replies by governments to a UN questionnaire. 1954, 322 p., printed, \$2.50. E/2526.

[Sc. Pr. Ej. Dp. St.] The present structure of land ownership is an obstacle to the economic and social development of many countries.

A programme for the encouragement of reform has been set on foot by the United Nations. In 1951, the Organization decided to survey at least every three years the action taken by the different countries in connexion with this programme and, more generally, with all matters affecting the reorganization of land distribution. The volume under review is the first report drawn up in implementation of this decision. Over 60 countries and territories with a total of about 1,300 million inhabitants replied to a special questionnaire circulated in November 1952.

The report drawn up on the basis of these replies by the United Nations in co-operation with the ILO and the FAO gives a very full survey of the problem: general trends in the various countries' policy in this matter (new countries: United States of America, Australia, New Zealand; Europe; Asia and the Far East; the Middle East; Africa; Latin America); legal, economic and technical solutions to the various practical problems arising out of the application of these policies; prospects and recommendations. Extensive statistics.

Rural Electrification. Additional Information. 24 December 1953, 29 p. E/ECE/EP/136. [Sc. Ej. Dp. St.] In 1952, under the auspices of the FAO and the Technical Assistance Administration of the Economic Commission for Europe, experts prepared a report in two parts on rural electrification (E/ECE/164, vols. 1 and 2). A working party was then set up by the Economic Commission for Europe to put the study of this problem on a more permanent basis. At the first meeting of this working party (25-28 November 1953), some countries (Rumania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Poland) which had not previously supplied any information gave particulars which are reproduced in the document under review.

ECONOMIC RESOURCES, INDUSTRY, TRADE, ETC.

Possibilities for the Development of the Paper and Pulp Industry in Latin America. 1954, 142 p., printed, \$1.50. E/CN.12/294/Rev.2—1953.II.G2.

[Sc. St. Dp. Ej.] Preliminary study of the pulp and paper requirements that will probably have to be met by Latin America in future, and analysis of this industry's present and future production possibilities. General aspects of the problem for the region as a whole and monographs for individual countries (Argentina, Brazil, Central America, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Surinam, British and French Guiana, Venezuela).

Study of the Prospects of Inter-Latin American Trade (southern zone of the region). 1954, 134 p., printed, \$1.50. E/CN.12/304/Rev.2.

[Ej. St. Dp. Ej.] Study of the development of trade between the seven countries of the southern zone of Latin America (over 80 per cent of the total trade between the Latin American countries): Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. Facts, prospects and conclusions.

Competition between Steel and Aluminium. 12 February 1954, 155 p., \$1.25. E/ECE/Steel/81. [Sc. Ej. Dp. St.] First monograph issued in a new series of reports on the metals and other materials competing with steel. The report sets out to define the zone of competition between steel and aluminium and discusses how far aluminium is already

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(and can become) a rival of steel. Part I: History of the development of aluminium and future prospects; Part II: Competition between steel and aluminium.

Private Capital

The International Flow of Private Capital 1946-1952. 18 January 1954, 61 p., printed. E/2531.

[Sc. St. Dp. Ej.] Statistical data available for the period from the end of the second world war to 1952, analysis of trends, study of factors limiting the flow of private capital, prospects and conclusions.

Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries. International Flow of Private Capital for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries. 19 February 1954, 79 p. E/2456. [Sc. Pr. Dp. Ej. St. Org.] This report, drawn up at the same time as the pamphlet *The International Flow of Private Capital 1946-1952* (see above), describes the national and international measures taken to encourage the flow of private capital for economic development. References to relevant research and studies. Bibliography.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Implementation of ECAFE Recommendations. 5 January 1954, 55 p. E/CN.11/382.

[Org. Sc. Dp. Ej.] In 1951, the commission decided to conduct a triennial review of the action taken by governments in the region in implementation of its resolutions and recommendations. The above report is the first to be prepared in compliance with this decision. Survey of the commission's activities not giving rise to specific action on the part of governments, review of programmes necessitating special action by governments, and account of the methods of such co-operation applicable to each country.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Official Records. Tenth Session. 8-18 February 1954. 25 March 1954, 250 p.

[Org. Sc.] Work of the session, discussion of the documents submitted.

FORCED AND CORRECTIVE LABOUR : SLAVERY

Forced Labour: Reports of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour. Observations and communications of governments. A series of papers. E/2431/Addenda.

[Ej.] The Economic and Social Council and the ILO set up an *ad hoc* committee of three independent experts to study the nature and extent of the various forms of forced and corrective labour in the world at present. This committee published a very detailed report (E/2431, 1953). Various states mentioned in the report submitted communications on the report to the United Nations (E/2431/Addenda); Union of South Africa, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Venezuela, etc.

Slavery. A series of documents. 26 February 1954, 93 p. E/2458 and several addenda. [Sc. Org. Dp.] On the basis of an initial report (E/2357, 27 April 1953), the General Assembly adopted a resolution concerning the reform of the 1926 International Convention on Slavery. The above report describes the action taken on this decision and quotes the comments and new information received from various states and the ILO.

STATUS OF WOMEN

[Sc. Dp. Ej. St. Org.] Various papers were published in connexion with the eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women, which concluded on 9 April 1954: *Fellowships and Other Assistance Available to Governments for the Training of Persons Interested in Improving the Status of Women* (Memorandum, E/CN.6/242, 1 February 1954, 12 p.); *Part-Time Work for Women: A Selected Bibliography* (List of approximately 100 books,

pamphlets and articles on the question, E/CN.6/245, 3 February 1954, 7 p.); *Economic Opportunities for Women: Older Women Workers* (discussion of available data in the different countries on the number and status of women workers over 40 years of age, E/CN.6/251, 9 February 1954, 58 p.); *Access of Women to Education* (prepared by Unesco: present status of women's education, Unesco's work in this connexion in 1953, E/CN.6/250, 26 February 1954, 66 p.); *Nationality of Married Women* (statutory and constitutional provisions relating to the nationality of married women. E/CN.6/206/Add.3, 15 January 1954, 14 p.). In 1950 the United Nations published a booklet entitled the *Nationality of Married Women*, which consisted mainly of a compilation of legislative and constitutional provisions on this question in force in a number of countries. Subsequently, a document (E/CN.6/206 and Add. 1 and 2) was issued to supplement this information. Document E/CN.6/206/Add.3 brings up to date the provisions reproduced in the booklet and the above-mentioned supplementary document, and also contains information on countries not referred to therein.

FREEDOM IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

Freedom of Information. Supplementary report submitted by Mr. Salvador P. Lopez, rapporteur on Freedom of Information. E/2426/Add.1, 1 February 1954, 26 p.; E/2426/Add.2, 1 February 1954, 2 p.

[Sc. Ej. Dp.] In 1953, Mr. Lopez, an expert whom the Economic and Social Council appointed in an individual capacity to carry out a general survey of the problem of freedom of information in the world today, published a lengthy report containing the historic background of the question, an analysis of the present situation and a recommendation (E/2426). Documents E/2426/Add. 1 and Add. 2 sum up a number of new developments over the last few months. They also contain a survey of the work of the eighth session of the General Assembly concerning freedom of information, and data supplied by various world press organizations (in particular, the results of the Associated Press world inquiry into censorship and other restrictions on freedom of information).

Freedom of Information. Report of the rapporteur on Freedom of Information. Communication dated 19 January 1954 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of the Union of South Africa to the Secretary-General. 1 February 1954, 4 p.

[Sc. Ej.] The Government of the Union of South Africa contests various facts mentioned by Mr. Salvador P. Lopez in his report E/2426.

Study of Discrimination in Education: Interim Report of the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. 14 December 1953, 56 p.

[Sc. Org. Dp.] Account of the work carried out in this connexion by the United Nations, the International Labour Office and Unesco. Legal provisions adopted by governments against discrimination in education. Bibliography.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Technical Assistance Activities in Economic Development and Public Administration in the ECAFE Region. 9 December 1953, 23 p. E/CN.11/379.

[Org. Pr. Dp. St.] Account of the main forms of assistance which the Technical Assistance Administration supplied in 1953 and is planning to supply in 1954 in co-ordination with the national programmes for economic development and public administration in countries of Asia and the Far East. General survey. Expert advisory services (planning of economic development; development of natural resources; industrial development; housing and town planning; trade; public administration; statistics; transport and communications; regional projects). Fellowships and scholarships, with statistical tables.

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THE FAO, ILO AND UNESCO IN ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Activities of FAO of Special Interest to Asia and the Far East. 11 December 1953, 15 p. E/CN.11/380.

[Org. Ej.] Asia is certainly the continent on which the solution of the world food problem mainly depends. General data on the question. The FAO's contribution to the raising of this region's agricultural output: statistical and economic information, meetings, various programmes, missions of experts and technical assistance fellowships (document published by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East for its tenth session, February 1954).

Activities of the ILO of Special Interest to Asia and the Far East. 16 December 1953, 45 p. E/CN.11/381.

[Org. Ej.] Supplements the *Seventh Report of the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations*, with special emphasis on the work carried out by the ILO in Asia and the Far East in 1953: results of the third Asian Regional Conference and the Asian Maritime Conference, the fifth session of the Asian Advisory Committee, and recent developments in the field of technical assistance (document published by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, for its tenth session, February 1954).

Unesco Activities in 1953 of Interest to the ECAFE. 27 January 1954, 23 p. E/CN.11/384. [Pr. Org.] Concise description, by type of activity and country, of Unesco programmes of most immediate interest to the development of its Member States in the ECAFE region: fundamental education, workers' education, extension of school education, community development, Korean rehabilitation, exchange of persons, fellowships, scientific research, teaching and dissemination of science, technical assistance, co-operation in the field of social science, assistance for higher education, information, voluntary international assistance, etc.

LIBYA

The Economic and Social Development of Libya, by Benjamin Higgins, 1953, 170 p., printed, \$1.75. ST/TAA/K/Libya/3.

[Sc. St. Ej.] Condensed version of the report of a mission of 21 experts appointed to study all the problems involved in the economic and social development of Libya from the point of view of the consolidation of its independence, and to advise on a programme of action for the years ahead.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Survey of the Situation in the Trust Territories

[Ej. Sc. St.] A series of documents. The Secretariat is publishing a preliminary series of working papers which are the first drafts of chapters on each of the following trust territories, to be included in the Trusteeship Council's next report to the General Assembly: Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, Somaliland under Italian administration, the Cameroons under British administration, the Cameroons under French administration, Togoland under British administration, Togoland under French administration, Western Samoa, Nauru and New Guinea. These reports contain a digest of data on the geography and demography of each territory, together with information on recent progress in various fields (politics, economics, social and educational development).

The documents in this series that have already been received deal with the Cameroons under British administration (T/L.404 and various addenda), the Cameroons under French administration (T/L.406 and Addenda), Togoland under British administration (T/L.407 and Addendum), and Togoland under French administration (T/L.409 and Addendum).

SECRETARIAT

STATISTICAL QUESTIONS

Bibliography of Recent Official Demographic Statistics, March 1954. 80 p., printed, \$.80. Bilingual: English-French. ST/STAT/Ser.M/18-1953.XIII.14.

[Sc. Pr.] Separate print of the very full bibliography issued in the *United Nations Demographic Yearbook for 1953*: list of works publishing the results of the most recent censuses (population tables, including data on occupations and type of home); sources of periodic or other demographic statistics since 1920; and mortality tables since 1900 for all countries and territories in the world. The titles of works in a language other than English or French are accompanied by an English translation.

Development of Statistics in Burma, 1951-1952, by Dr. Philip M. Hauser. 1954, 35 p., printed. ST/TAA/K/Burma/4.

[Sc. Ej.] Under the technical assistance programme a vast study was carried out with a view to improving statistics in all possible fields in Burma. Since 1949, several experts have been helping to carry out this programme, the stages of which are described in a few pamphlets and studies (quoted in the document under review): improved assessment of the national income, national economic survey of 1951, sample census in Rangoon in 1950, etc. Dr. Hauser personally dealt with the general development of statistics in Burma in 1951-52, working on the basis of his predecessors' labours and in co-operation with Burmese experts. He thinks that with the help of these experts, Burma will soon be able to compete with the most advanced countries in the field of statistics. The report describes the progress in this field and puts forward specific recommendations.

NATIONAL INCOME

The National Income and National Accounts of the Republic of Panama, 1944-1952, by Dr. H. Rijken van Olst. 1953, 82 p., printed. ST/TAA/K/Panama/1.

[Sc.] Aims and methods of assessing national income and national accounts in general; presentation and analysis of data available for Panama, recommendations for their improvement.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, SOCIAL WELFARE

Third United Nations Social Welfare Seminar for Arab States in the Middle East. 1954, 91 p., printed, \$1.

[Pr.] The first social welfare seminar organized by the United Nations for the Arab States, which was held in 1949, provided an opportunity for a general discussion of problems.

The second (1950) was concerned with rural social welfare.

The third (the proceedings of which are reported in the document under review) was held in 1952. It dealt with existing welfare services and the problems involved in the assembly of data on the work of these services and the planning of their programmes: research and statistics in the field of social welfare, effects of economic development on social welfare programmes, financing, medico-social services, etc. List of persons attending the seminar, recommendations, conclusions, list of working papers.

Social Services in Israel, by Professor T. S. Symey and Miss Dorothy C. Kahn. 9 November 1953, 36 p. ST/TAA/K/Israel/2.

[Pr.] At the request of the Government of Israel, two experts were instructed by the Technical Assistance Administration to study certain problems in this country connected with the organization of ministries concerned with welfare questions, the organization of general social services, the development of local welfare centres, the employment and training of welfare workers, family assistance, research into these subjects, etc.,

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and to advise on the best means of improving the situation in these various spheres. The pamphlet under review contains the report of these two experts.

United Nations Series on Community Organization and Development. Monograph on community settlements and report of the survey mission on community organization and development. Israel, 1954, 89 p., printed, \$.80.

[Pr. Sc. Ej. St.] Part I: Survey of the organization of, and part played by, communities and co-operative farms, temporary villages for immigrants, etc. Part II: Report of a mission responsible for studying other types of centres and welfare services in Israel. Statistics.

Full bibliography containing references to sociological works on stratification, social relations, cultural integration, etc., in Israeli communities.

Switzerland (United Nations series on Community Organization and Development. Country monographs). 1954, 14 p., printed, \$.15. ST/SOA/Ser.o/17.

[Pr. Ej.] Account of the organization and work of the various types of institutions directly or indirectly concerned with the promotion of community development in Switzerland: the commune itself, as the sovereign school authority, welfare services, communal property, etc.; parishes, workers' centres, women's and youth clubs, social clubs, etc. Survey of the special programme of assistance for Alpine districts.

PREVENTION OF CRIME AND TREATMENT OF DELINQUENTS

Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency. Part IV: Asia and the Far East. November 1953, 123 p., printed, \$1. ST/SOA/SD/1/Add.3.

[Pr. Sc. Ej. St. Dp.] Fourth volume in the series of reports on the problem of juvenile delinquency throughout the world: comparative survey of practice and legislation with regard to juvenile delinquency (treatment of delinquents, prevention, etc.) in the following countries: Burma, Ceylon, India, Japan, Pakistan, Philippines and Thailand. Bibliography.

Latin American Seminar on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. 1954, 89 p., printed, \$.80. ST/TAA/Ser.C/13.

[Sc. Pr.] The seminar was held at Rio de Janeiro from 6 to 19 April 1953. The report under review gives its programme, the list of persons attending (from 17 countries) and recommendations. The main subjects dealt with were the minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners, recruitment and training of staff for penal establishments and reformatories, system of open establishments, juvenile delinquency, various forms of delinquency and their factual study. A similar meeting was held in Europe in 1952. Others are planned for the Middle East and Asia. A world congress will be held in 1955 to consider the proposals of the various regional seminars.

ECONOMIC SITUATION OF ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1953. Bangkok, February 1954, 161 p., printed, \$1.50. 1953: II.F.8

[Sc. Ej. Dp. St.] Seventh survey of this kind prepared by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Apart from the analysis of trends common to the region, this report contains, for the first time, a series of monographs on the individual countries (all countries in the region, with the exception of continental China, which was dealt with in a monograph published separately in the November 1953 issue of the *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*).

COLOMBIA (ELECTRICITY)

Public Utilities in Colombia, by Cecil A. Ellis, 28 December 1953, 65 p., printed, \$.60. ST/TAA/K. Colombia/1.

ORGANIZATION, REVIEWS, ANNOUNCEMENTS

[Pr. Ej. St.] Present electricity supply situation in Colombia and constructive suggestions for its improvement. The annex touches briefly on other public utilities (water, telephone, markets) in Colombia.

MEXICO (IRON AND STEEL)

An Enquiry into the Iron and Steel Industry of Mexico. 11 January 1954, 74 p., printed. ST/TAA/K/Mexico/1.

[Sc. Pr. St. Ej.] Summary of the findings¹ and recommendations of three experts appointed by the United Nations to analyse, in co-operation with many Mexican experts, the progress of the iron and steel industry in Mexico, and the problems involved in supplying coal for this industry.

PHILIPPINES (ARTS AND CRAFTS)

Hand-Weaving in the Philippines, by Lysbeth Wallace. 21 December 1953, 94 p., printed, \$.80. ST/TAA/K/Philippines/3.

[Pr. Ej.] On the completion of a special two-year inquiry, Miss Wallace, appointed by the Technical Assistance Administration at the request of the Philippines Government, gives a critical account of the part played by the hand-weaving industry in this country and puts forward recommendations for its development in co-ordination with general programmes for economic and social development and for improved output of home industries and crafts. Map. Photographic illustrations.

The Ceramic Industry in the Philippines, by Mary Kring Risley. 20 January 1954, 22 p., printed, \$.25. ST/TAA/K/Philippines/4.

[Pr. Ej.] Similar report to the foregoing, but dealing with pottery, the manufacture of bricks, etc.

EL SALVADOR (DEVELOPMENT)

The Economic and Social Development of El Salvador. A series of documents. 1954.

[Ej. Sc. St.] Under an agreement concluded on 26 February 1951 between the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies represented on the Technical Assistance Committee, on the one hand, and the Government of El Salvador, on the other hand, experts were appointed to prepare reports on a few special aspects of the economic and social development of El Salvador. These reports are a critical account of the problems dealt with, and contain detailed recommendations. The following reports have been received: *Social Welfare Programmes in El Salvador*. 18 p. ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/1.

Development of Geological Resources in El Salvador. 100 p. ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/2.

The Harbour System of El Salvador. 140 p. ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/3.

Telecommunications in El Salvador. 77 p. ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/4.

Public Finance in El Salvador. 144 p. ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/6.

Production and Distribution of Electricity in El Salvador. 124 p. ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/7.

The Textile Industry in El Salvador. 45 p. ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/8.

Industrial Development of El Salvador. 104 p. ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/10.

Inland Transport in El Salvador. 88 p. ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/11.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION¹

GENERAL SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Report of the Director-General. Workers' Housing. Economic and Social Survey. Activities of the ILO. International Labour Conference. Thirty-seventh session, 1954, 144 p., printed, \$1.

[Sc. Org. Ej. St.] It is the established practice for the report presented by the Director-General of the ILO to the annual session of the Labour Conference to retrace the general pattern of social evolution over the past year and to draw attention to the salient features of the social policy applied throughout the world during this period. This year's report dwells more particularly on the symptoms of social unrest evident in all continents and the factors that could help to remove this unrest and bring about practical social progress. Such progress largely depends on the restoration of peaceful international relations.

Furthermore, the report sums up the ILO's recent work and discusses the housing problem in detail. In the ILO's view, the solution of this problem is one of the prerequisites for the improvement of the general welfare and for a balanced economy in all parts of the world.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Summary of Reports on Unratified Conventions and on Recommendations (Article 19 of the Constitution). 1954, 72 p., printed, \$1.

[Sc. Org.] Under Article 19 of the ILO's Constitution, Member States are obliged to report to the Director-General of the International Labour Office on the position of their law and practice in regard to the matters dealt with in the Organization's unratified conventions and recommendations.

The reports summarized in the volume under review deal with a convention and a recommendation concerning labour clauses in public contracts and with a convention and a recommendation concerning wage protection.

Minimum wages in Latin America. 1954, 195 p., printed, \$1.

[Sc. Ej. Dp. St.] Comparative analysis of minimum wage control systems; short reports on 19 countries of Latin America describing, in each case, recent developments and the present position of legislation on minimum wages.

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

Holidays with pay. 1954, 51 p., printed, \$.40.

[Sc. Org.] Analysis of the replies of governments to a draft recommendation concerning holidays with pay; text of draft recommendation designed to serve as a basis for the second discussion of this question at the thirty-seventh session of the International Labour Conference.

Utilization of holidays with pay. 1954, 72 p., printed, \$.50.

[Pr. Ej. Dp.] Survey of various countries' present arrangements for workers' leisure; analysis of the action taken by the ILO and various governments to enable workers to derive full benefit from their holidays, methods of organizing and financing such measures and possible improvements in this field.

¹ As a general rule, ILO's publications are issued in English, French and Spanish.

PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS

Causes of Accidents in the Coupling of Railway Vehicles and Related Operations and Measures for their Prevention. 1953, 22 p., printed, \$.25.

[Pr. Dp. St. Ej.] Analysis of the results of an inquiry conducted by the International Labour Office in France, Italy and Switzerland on the main causes of accidents in the coupling of vehicles and methods of preventing such accidents.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING, SEMINARS, EXCHANGES, ETC.

Vocational Training of Dockworkers in the Port of Rotterdam. 1954, 11 p., printed, \$.10. [Sc. Pr. St. Ej.] Account of the pilot programme for the vocational training of dockworkers at Rotterdam by the South Rotterdam Maritime Federation, with the financial support of the government and municipality. Aims and structure of the programme. Basic training, training of specialists and foremen, supplementary courses; technical handbooks; results obtained; training school for dockworkers. The conclusion is that the Rotterdam experiment has shown that the vocational training of dockworkers is a practical possibility. The implementation of this system of vocational training goes to show that dockwork is a genuine trade.

The Recruitment and Training of Technical and Vocational Teaching Staff. Technical documents. 1953, 56 p.

[Sc. Pr.] Scope and importance of the problem. Review of problems arising in connexion with recruitment, training, promotion and remuneration. Bibliography on the subject.

The International Exchange of Student Employees. 1954, 18 p., printed, \$.10.

[St. Sc.] The International Labour Office has already conducted several enquiries into the opportunities afforded in the different countries for foreigners to take practical training and vocational refresher courses on their territory. The results of the 1953 enquiry, summed up in the booklet under review, show a great increase over previous years in the number of persons that have been able to take such practical training courses abroad. Extensive statistics.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Technical Assistance. 1954, 100 p., printed, \$.75.

[Sc. Dp. Ej. Org.] Critical study of the ILO's technical assistance programme: extension of the ILO's practical activities through the application of the United Nations Technical Assistance programme; purpose of the programme; fields of work; problems of organization and administration; planning, assessment of results and follow-up work on projects.

A large number of illustrations, graphs and a map.

EMPLOYEES

Salaried Employees in Modern Society, by Fritz Croner, Head of the Statistics Office of the Swedish Central Organization of Salaried Employees. 1954, 14 p., printed, \$.15.

[Sc. Ej. St.] Broad outline of the author's theory concerning the development and role of the 'employee class' in the world today (Croner is a sociologist specializing in the study of this class).

LABOUR IN AVIATION

Conditions of Employment in International Civil Aviation, by Captain Schenkman. 1954, 26 p., printed, \$.15.

[Sc. Ej.] Organization of labour, conditions of employment, remuneration, holidays

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and recreation, promotion, social, security, professional relations, in the rapidly expanding international civil aviation industry.

INTERNATIONAL CO-ORDINATION OF EMPLOYMENT MARKETS IN THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES

The Common Employment Market for the Northern Countries, by Bertil Olsson. 1954, 11 p., printed, \$.15.

[Sc. Ej. Pr.] Machinery for establishing a common employment market for Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden; its operation, the part played by the central authorities, employers' and workers' organizations and local labour services.

BUILDING AND THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM IN ITALY

Workers' Housing and the Unemployment Problem in Italy. First results of the Fanfani Plan. 1954, 15 p., \$.15.

[Ej. St.] Outline of the plan adopted by the Italian Government in February 1949: organic structure, implementation (technical aspects, general distribution of work, allocation of housing, social aspects), results obtained, lessons learnt from experience. Statistics.

UNITED NATIONS FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO)

WORK OF FAO

The Work of FAO 1952-53: Growing Food for a Growing World. 1954, 38 p., printed, \$.50.

[Org. Ej. St.] The work of FAO as related to the growth of population: soil development and improvement, rationalization of crops and stock farming, equipment, trade in products of the soil, diet and health, fisheries, timber problem, land reform.

Report of the Seventh Session of the Conference, 23 November-11 December 1953. March 1954, 256 p., \$2. Trilingual: English, French and Spanish.

[Sc. Org.] The FAO holds biennial conferences. The seventh was held in November-December 1953. The document under review contains the resolutions adopted by the conference on such subjects as the world situation and trends as regards food and agriculture, the organization's work and programme and the 1954-55 budget. Analytical index.

Budget for 1954 as approved by the Seventh Session of the Conference. 1954, 43 p., printed. [Org. St.] Detailed analysis.

WORLD SITUATION

The State of Food and Agriculture—1953. Part II, Longer Term Prospects. January 1954, 83 p., printed, \$1.

[Sc. Ej. Dp. St.] Survey of probable developments in the field of food and agriculture over the next few years if the present programmes of the governments are carried into effect and due regard is had to demographic trends: production and consumption for the whole world, by region and product, commercial repercussions, factors and prerequisites for the attainment of the results forecast (soil development and utilization of water, mechanization, selection, development of fisheries).

STATISTICS

Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics: Trade—1953. Vol. VII, Part II. 313 p., printed, \$3.50. Trilingual: English, French and Spanish.

[Sc. St.] Data available as at 31 December 1953. For the first time, the yearbook

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supplies figures to allow of comparisons with the period 1934-38. This volume (Part II of the yearbook) deals with trade. Part I is concerned with production.

RATIONAL DIET

Food Composition Tables—Minerals and Vitamins. For international use. March 1954, 117 p., printed, \$1.

[Sc.] Tables giving the A, C and B₁ vitamin content, the riboflavin and niacin content, and the calcium and iron content of a few staple foods. These data are important for improving the diet of communities. Very full bibliography (56 p.).

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)

MONOGRAPHS

Plague, by R. Pollitzer. 698 p., printed. (Monograph No. 22.) \$9.

[Sc. Pr. Ej. Dp. St.] Standard reference work on the whole problem, treated from the historical and medical point of view. It is written in the light of the most recent scientific discoveries and takes the place of the basic work published in 1936 by Wu Lien-teh, Chun, Pollitzer and Wu.

Treponematoses, a World Problem, by T. Guthe and R. R. Willcox. 1954, 80 p., printed. [Sc. Pr. Ej. Dp. St.] Syphilis, yaws and pinta are diseases raising specially serious social problems and forming a group apart—that of the treponematoses—by reason of their character and because they are amenable to penicillin treatment. Nature and scope of the problem of treponematoses; new therapeutic methods; work of governments and international agencies; mass campaigns; sample surveys to control results; economic and social aspects.

LEGISLATION

Leprosy. 1954, 31 p., printed.

[Sc. Ej. Dp.] Survey of the development and present state of leprosy health legislation. Special problems involved: isolation of lepers, vocations open to them, marriage and immigration of lepers, measures for the protection of their families, etc. (protection of children, welfare services), and their vocational readjustment. Bibliographical references.

Anti-Smallpox Vaccination. 1954, 40 p., printed.

[Sc. St. Ej. Pr.] Comparison of the different countries' legislation in this matter. Synoptic table. Details of vaccination technique. Bibliographical references.

STATISTICS

Maternal Mortality (Epidemiological and Vital Statistics Report, vol. VII, no. 2). 1954, 50 p., printed, \$ 75. Bilingual: English-French.

[Sc. Ej. Dp. St.] Available data for the whole world (for the period 1936 to 1952), absolute number of maternity deaths and corresponding mortality rate.

Cases of and Deaths from Infectious Diseases (Epidemiological and Vital Statistics Reports, vol. VII, no. 3). 1954, 50 p., printed, \$.75.

Detailed statistical data without comment. The diseases taken into consideration are diphtheria, infectious hepatitis, cerebro-spinal meningitis (meningococcal) and poliomyelitis.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL
ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

RACIAL RELATIONS

Jewish Thought as a Factor in Civilization, by Léon Roth. 1954, 64 p., printed, \$.40; 2s. [Sc. Ej.] Unesco has undertaken the publication of a series of reports designed to indicate the attitude of the great religions and philosophical systems towards the diversity of human types.

This subject was already referred to in connexion with the Reverend Father Congar's booklet, *The Catholic Church and the Race Question*,¹ which inaugurated the collection.

Professor Léon Roth approaches the subject from a special angle and briefly describes the specific contribution of Judaism to world civilization. He thus stresses all factors in Judaism which are the very negation of racial exclusivism and records the extent of the debt humanity owes to Judaism. Bibliography.

The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem, by W. A. Visser't Hooft. 1954, 70 p., printed, \$.40; 2s.

[Sc. Ej.] Booklet in the same series. The Ecumenical Movement today unites over 160 Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox Churches. The author sets forth the basic views of these Churches on the racial question. Bibliography.

Race Mixture, by Harry L. Shapiro. 1954, 56 p., printed, \$.25; 1s. 6d.²

[Sc. Ej. Dp. St.] Booklet in a collection of reports giving a brief account of the racial question from the point of view of the various sciences. The author, who is chairman of the Department on Anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, discusses various anthropological and cultural aspects of the problem of race mixture today (number and distribution of racial hybrids, race consciousness, culture, biological considerations). A few practical examples are given to illustrate the diversity of causes and effects of race mixtures (Pitcairn, Jamaica and Hawaii). Bibliography.

Racial Equality and the Law, by Monroe Berger. 1954, 76 p., printed, \$.50; 3s.

[Sc. Ej.] Study of the laws introduced in the United States of America with a view to reducing racial discrimination (with special reference to employment) and of the effectiveness of these laws. The author dwells on group relations in the United States of America, employment discrimination and its decline, the legal aspect of the problem and the role of the federal, state and municipal governments and private organizations. In his final remarks, the author stresses the importance of the law as a means of guiding and speeding up the evolution of mental habits and everyday behaviour.

EDUCATION

The Education of Teachers in England, France and the U.S.A., by C. A. Richardson, Hélène Brûlé and Harold E. Snyder. 1953, 341 p., printed, \$2; 11s. 6d.

[Sc. Dp. Ej.] Volume consisting of three monographs on three democracies which introduced universal schooling last century (England, France and the United States of America). The following subjects are dealt with: the origin, development and organization of primary teacher training; curricula, finance and staff; recruitment and professional and social status of teachers, etc.

General introduction by Karl W. Bigelow. Bibliographies.

¹ Also published in Spanish: *La iglesia católica y la cuestión racial*, by the Reverend Father Yves M. J. Congar, O.P.

² Published in Spanish: *La Mezcla de razas*, by Harry L. Shapiro.

A Few Publications reissued

[Sc. Pr. Ej.] Of the publications on education recently reissued by Unesco, mention should be made of:

A Handbook of Suggestions on the Teaching of Geography (third revised edition), by N. V. Scarfe;

Suggestions on the Teaching of History, by C. P. Hill (second edition) (both in the series *Towards World Understanding*);

Compulsory Education in New Zealand (second edition) (in the series *Studies on Compulsory Education*).

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

Social Welfare Work in Jamaica, by Roger Marier, 1953, 166 p., printed, \$1.25; 7s. 6d. [Pr. Sc. Ej. St.] Report addressed to persons concerned with the promotion of welfare work through fundamental education. It describes the activities of the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission from 1937 to the present day, and deals with its historical and sociological background, organization and programmes (community development, mass education, co-operatives, etc.), and results. Bibliography.

A PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL INQUIRY IN JAPAN

Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword: A Study of the Attitudes of Youth in Post-War Japan, by Jean Stoetzel. 1954, 340 p., printed, Paris, Plon-Unesco, \$2.50; 12s. 6d.

[Sc. Ej. St.] Following the example of Ruth Benedict (*The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, 1946), but criticizing her method on certain points, Stoetzel included in his title the chrysanthemum—the emblem of the imperial family—and the traditional sword of the Samurai; these are two of the symbols of ancient Japanese culture against which action for the reorientation of Japan has been directed since 1945. The attitude of Japanese youth a few years after the 1945 upheaval is the problem studied by two experts—the French sociologist, Stoetzel, the author of the book under review, and Frits Vos, a Netherlands expert on Japanese questions. At Unesco's suggestion they conducted a field inquiry in 1951-52, using the most up-to-date methods.

After describing the organization and aims of the inquiry, Jean Stoetzel sums up the characteristics of Japanese society (history, and present trends), and goes on to discuss the place of youth in this society. He then gives a detailed analysis of the attitudes of young people, on the basis of a large body of documentary material (the results of Japanese psycho-sociological research and of special investigations carried out by Stoetzel and Vos, such as opinion surveys and 'depth' tests). The main subjects dealt with are the attitude of Japanese youth towards the rest of the world (interest in international affairs, feelings towards other countries, pacifism and militaristic mentality, etc.); attitude towards Japanese institutions (economic and social development, economic system, democracy and authority, the emperor, the family, status of women, religion, etc.); dominant traits in the personality of young people in Japan.

Detailed analysis of methods. Extensive bibliography.

SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHING

The Teaching of the Social Sciences in the United States. 150 p., printed, \$1; 4s.

Sc. Ej. Pr.] For the series *Teaching in the Social Sciences*, Unesco is publishing separate monographs each describing one particular country's experience in this field. We have already reviewed the volumes on social science teaching in France and the United Kingdom. Others will deal with Egypt, India, Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia. The report on the United States of America, written by specialists, surveys the basic characteristics of higher and university education in that country and goes on to trace the development of social science teaching in that context. Special chapters deal

in detail with the teaching of political economy, sociology, anthropology, social psychology and law.

PROTECTION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY

Les Techniques de Protection des Biens Culturels en cas de Conflit Armé, by H. Lavachery, and A. Noblecourt. 1954, 222 p., printed, plus 48 p. of photographic plates, 1,500 French frs.

[Pr.] Handbook written for all persons who, in the event of armed conflict, may have to arrange for the protection of monuments of art and history, museums, libraries and archives, which are part of the cultural heritage of mankind. A clear description is first given of the direct and indirect dangers to which cultural property may be exposed by modern warfare, after which the authors explain the practical steps that should be taken in case of need. Bibliography.

NUCLEAR RESEARCH IN EUROPE

European Co-operation in Nuclear Research. 1954, 26 p., printed.

[Ej. Org.] Brief account of the history of relations between research workers and of scientific emulation since the Renaissance; analysis of the reasons for the emergence of new problems in these fields, especially with regard to nuclear physics, and account of the origin, development and functions of the European Organization for Nuclear Research, the International Laboratory in Geneva, etc.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

- Dp. = Presents facts country by country (or region by region).
- Ej. = Supplies essential information to educators and journalists interested in social questions.
- Org. = Is very useful for knowledge of the current activities of the international organization concerned.
- Pr. = Supplies useful factual information for certain groups of people (educators, government officials, members of international organizations and economic and social institutions, etc.) whose activities are connected with the subject-matter of the document.
- St. = Contains statistics.
- Sc. = Deserves the attention of scientific workers in the field concerned.

The importance of these conventional signs is, of course, purely relative, and we do not wish their use to be taken as implying a system of classification. We use them merely in order to give as brief an abstract as is consistent with indicating, in the easiest way possible, that part of the contents of the publications and documents under review which relates to some particular branch of social science.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF PERIODICALS

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

PORDEA (G. A.). 'Pactes régionaux et sécurité collective', *Revue de Droit International, de Sciences diplomatiques et politiques* 31(4), Oct.-Dec. 1953, p. 412-20.

The evolution of international policy since the second world war has created a veritable problem with regard to regional pacts and their influence on the system of collective security.

In general, regionalism tends to provoke a spirit of political exclusivism incompatible with the needs of international co-operation, and to induce the signatory states to regional agreements to neglect their international obligations. Moreover, this system is likely to encourage the formation of hostile blocs, a situation highly unfavourable to the maintenance of peace.

As regards their effect on the functioning of the United Nations, regional pacts, in spite of the provisions of Articles 52, 53 and 54 of the Charter, do not appear very likely to assist the Organization in its task of ensuring international security. Regional organizations should renounce their will to power, based on the technique of spheres of influence. 'Their utility, with regard to collective security, seems to reside mainly in their organic equilibrium, which inevitably conditions their political strategy.'

WRIGHT (Q.). 'Economic and Political Conditions of World Stability', *The Journal of Economic History* 13(4), autumn 1953, p. 363-77.

Whereas the nineteenth century was peaceful, prosperous and democratic, the twentieth century, which is infinitely more marked by bloodshed, is characterized by progress in technology and organization.

The modern world seems capable of two kinds of equilibrium: one based on the law of large numbers, the other on the national organization of society. Only the first—purely statistical and inhuman—can be maintained in the present system of international relations. In order to achieve the second, men, in their efforts to establish an international society, must respect several fundamental principles. In general, world stability will be established only if economics and politics—two domains requiring radically different methods of organization—remain as independent of each other as possible. More particularly, and in the immediate future, the United Nations will be able to carry out its work for international stability only if its agents remain free from all pressure by Member States and if all the great world powers are represented in it.

ORMESSON (W. d'). 'Les contradictions du monde actuel', *Rassegna Italiana di Politica di Cultura* 30(349), Dec. 1953, p. 507-21.

The consequences of the two world wars strikingly illustrate the principle that modern warfare is revolutionary, whereas peace is conservative. The two conflicts have given rise to a proletarian civilization, which has replaced the bourgeois civilization of the nineteenth century. Since 1919, the application of the principle of nationalities and of the right of the peoples to govern themselves has provoked an outburst of nationalism. Monetary instability, which creates economic instability, an unparalleled spate of inventions, and the abolition of distance, have also contributed to the fundamental transformation of habits and customs that has been taking place before our eyes. World problems are expressed in radically different terms: their solutions must be sought on the international plane. To whatever contradictions it may be subject, international solidarity has become a categorical imperative of the modern

world. One of the most urgently needed ways of giving expression to it would be the establishment of an international demographic relief fund that would enable the world's population to be more rationally distributed.

ALEXANDROWICZ-ALEXANDER (C. H.). 'Vertical and Horizontal Divisions of the International Society', *The Indian Yearbook of International Affairs 1952*, Madras, Diocesan Press, 1952-3, p. 88-96.

By 'horizontal international co-operation' the author means common action by different national representatives attached to organizations, such as the International Federation of Trade Unions or the International Labour Organisation. By 'vertical co-operation' he means activity by states in the international sphere. International co-operation would be impossible if there were no common functional interests, which can be effectively protected only by specialized agencies. It is true that action by states can help to ensure economic and social progress on the international plane; but it is the 'horizontal' activity of international organizations that must give the greatest results. In this respect, the author regrets that international events of a political nature seem more important than the constructive work of the Specialized Agencies. The necessary suppression of certain vertical barriers certainly involves risks, but private initiative must succeed in dispelling the fears of the politicians. It therefore seems desirable that there should be a more limited form of autarchy, to permit of a favourable evolution of the economic relations between states.

LEONTIEV (B.). 'Meždunarodnoe sotrudničestvo i mir' (International co-operation and peace), *Novyyj Mir* 12, 1953, p. 208-17.

The author discusses the problem of the maintenance of peace, with special emphasis on the necessity of establishing peace between the various states. After noting that the Soviet countries have acquired the right to belong to the international society and that no other country can overlook this fact, he tackles the main part of his study: co-operation between the five great powers on the Security Council. The unanimity principle is the only one that leads to the peaceful solution of all international problems, without prejudice to the interests of any nation. The accusations made by the United States against the U.S.S.R. with regard to the so-called abuse of the veto are not justified. In fact, as the solutions recommended by the United States directly menace the security of the Soviet countries, the latter are entitled to defend that security by all lawful means. However, the problems that have been left in abeyance could be rapidly settled if the United States agreed to a reasonable discussion without opposing *a priori* every form of compromise. Lastly, the author warns against recourse to a policy of force; any state resorting to such a policy would be denounced and would have to fight alone. In conclusion, the author contrasts the attitude of the U.S.A.—'Aggressors in Korea'—and that of the U.S.S.R., which is resolved to safeguard peace.

THE UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL

JEBB (SIR G.). 'The Free World and the United Nations', *Foreign Affairs* 31(3), April 1953, p. 382-91.

There can be no question of a comparison between the present situation of the United Nations and that of the League of Nations when confronted with the Axis powers. The issue here is the rivalry between two blocs, each of which comprises a third of the world's population. As long as men of the Stalinist type predominate, it will not be possible to speak of 'collective security'.

It is no less certain that, if the Soviet Union were excluded from the UN, the latter would be reduced, in practice, to the nations at present belonging to the Pan-American Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—organizations which are

undoubtedly more firmly established than the UN itself. However, the role that the UN can play in the event of wars of aggression is by no means negligible: collective defence could be organized by the General Assembly on the basis of the 'Uniting for Peace' Resolution; moreover, the possibilities of the peaceful settlement of a conflict could be exploited to the uttermost. In general, in spite of the disappointments which its activities have provoked, the existence of the UN is still vital, in order to convince the 'economically underdeveloped' countries that the idea that the 'Western Imperialists' are hostile towards them is only a myth.

BENUMEYA (Rodolfo Gil). 'Esencia y trayectoria del bloque africano-asiático' (Nature and activity of the Africano-Asiatic bloc), *Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos*, December 1953, no. 24, p. 9-22.

The Afric-Asiatic bloc, which was constituted in 1951, proved particularly effective during the fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Animated by a common ideal of 'self-determination', the countries belonging to this bloc combat all forms of colonization or trusteeship, on the principle that all peoples are entitled to govern themselves. The Afric-Asiatic bloc has grown up around the nucleus formed by the Arab League, and this gives it cohesion and makes it aware of the efficacy of concerted action on the international plane. At the UN General Assembly it won the support of the South American countries which, while following an independent policy, have similar interests to defend. There is thus being formed a group of countries resolved to defend the rights of the small or medium states, and representative enough to champion the demands of the coloured races. The influence of the Afric-Asiatic bloc on international policy, particularly during the discussion of questions concerning North Africa, showed that the great powers must henceforth reckon with this group of small states.

E. B. 'The Eighth Assembly of the United Nations', *World Today* 10 (2), February, 1954, p. 70-80.

The eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly was the first to be held after the Korean armistice and the death of Stalin, and it was therefore expected that considerable progress would be made towards the solution of the main international problems. In fact, although its results were not entirely negative, this session did not fulfil the hopes placed in it, and any progress achieved, if not entirely illusory, was the fruit of long and hesitant efforts. The same number of speeches and the same flow of oratory as during the previous sessions were devoted by the Assembly to Korea, Germany and Austria, as well as to other causes of 'international tension'—but the Korean problem was left in abeyance. Likewise, apart from the importance attached to President Eisenhower's address on atomic energy, the two fundamental questions of general policy—disarmament and the revision of the Charter—were practically neglected by the General Assembly.

THORMANN (G.). 'Nations Unies. Eisenhower a posé le problème; anéantissement ou progrès social', *Labor* 26(6-7), Dec. 1953-Jan. 1954, p. 141-46.

The most important event of the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly was undoubtedly President Eisenhower's address on the future development of atomic energy. The attention paid to the President's grave and sincere words showed that the cold war and the armaments race are still the main preoccupation in the international sphere.

Consequently, the question of disarmament occupied an important place in the discussions relating to the establishment of a special fund for the economic development of underdeveloped countries, since the financing of this fund seemed closely bound up with the reduction of expenditure on armaments. As to the work of the Third Committee, on social, humanitarian and cultural questions, it was characterized by the habitual and useless oratorical disputes between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the 'capitalist' countries with regard to the two questions of forced labour and prisoners of war.

DULLES (F.). 'United Nations Charter Review', *Department of State Bulletin* 30(762), 1 Feb. 1954, p. 170-73.

It must be admitted that the great hopes placed in the United Nations at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 have not been fully realized. This is due in the first place to the fact that these were largely excessive, and also to the attitude of the Communist bloc. Nevertheless, the United Nations has achieved considerable results: in Korea, it offered the first real collective resistance to armed aggression; it has endeavoured to replace the colonial system by self-government; it has succeeded in promoting the economic and social progress of a large part of the world's population; lastly, the General Assembly has acted as an international forum of inestimable importance. In short, the main weakness of the Organization resides in the abuse of the veto, which enables the Soviet Union to paralyse its work. When the Charter comes up for revision, it seems that the following points will have to be carefully considered: the universal nature of the Organization, control of the veto, alteration of the voting system at the General Assembly, establishment of a really effective organ for the control of armaments, adoption of the necessary measures for the development and codification of international law. However, the Charter must not be revised prematurely: it is better to have the United Nations in its present form than to have no kind of international organization at all.

DAWSON (K. H.). 'The United Nations in a Disunited World', *World Politics* 6(2) Jan. 1954, p. 209-35.

The cause of the difficulties at present confronting the United Nations must be sought in the inadequacy of the assistance given to it by Member States rather than in the shortcomings of its technical machinery. The hopes originally placed in the United Nations have been disappointed mainly because it has been split into two camps, through the cold war and embodies two radically different conceptions of international organization. The short history of the United Nations system of collective security eloquently illustrates this fact. The legal revision of the Charter seems almost impossible owing to the weapons with which the Charter itself provides the conflicting parties in order to prevent such revision. A *de facto* revision would hasten the departure of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and probably of a certain number of so-called 'neutral' members, and this would entail the dissolution of the organization and its re-establishment on a new basis. Whatever may be the solution afforded by history to this dilemma, the fact remains that the United Nations, in spite of its shortcomings, represents, by the co-operation of the Member States, of its Specialized Agencies, a remarkable attempt to effect a more equitable distribution of the world's material resources among the various nations, including the less favoured ones.

GROSS (E. A.). 'Revising the Charter. Is it possible? Is it wise?', *Foreign Affairs* 32(2), Jan. 1954, p. 203-16.

The Charter lays down two essential purposes for the United Nations: to maintain international peace and security and promote the conditions of well-being and security necessary for the development of peaceful and friendly relations between the nations of the world. However, it now appears that these aims can no longer be achieved without a revision of the United Nations Charter. The conference that will have to be held in order to carry out this task will have three different possibilities before it: to effect a purely technical revision of the Charter while keeping the present framework; to expel the Soviet Union, whose presence in the Organization is regarded by many as contrary to the interests of the free world; to content itself with a propaganda role, i.e. with being a kind of peace conference in the midst of the cold war. Moreover, the main problems to be discussed seem to be disarmament, the limits of the domestic jurisdiction of States and the choice of the character (universal or selective) to be given to the Organization. The other problems, such as the control of the veto and the alteration of the voting system at the General Assembly, are, in fact, rather secondary. The American Constitution shows that every constitution must be flexible if it is to last. It is desirable, therefore, that the United Nations Charter should also be of this nature.

MANSO (M. J.). 'La Reforma de la Carta de la O.N.U. y el veto' (The reform of the United Nations Charter and the veto), *Jus de Jure Orbis* 2, 15 Jan. 1954, p. 46-57. Originally established in order to consolidate the unity of the Big Three, the veto has rapidly become, for the five permanent members of the Security Council, a convenient means of paralysing the General Assembly and preventing the proper functioning of the United Nations. The existence of the veto prevents *a priori* any serious revision of the Charter and the admission to the Organization of any new member. There are three possible solutions: the maintenance of the *status quo*, the abolition of the veto, or its control. A close examination of the Charter suggests that it would be advisable to make a distinction between questions of procedure, which would only require 7 votes, and questions of substance, which would require 10 votes in order to be settled by the Security Council. A clause could be adopted whereby nations voting against such decisions would not be bound by them.

RUDZINSKI (A. W.). 'Domestic Jurisdiction in United States Practice', *India Quarterly* 9(4), Oct.-Dec. 1953, p. 313-54.

The San Francisco Conference considered it necessary to limit the United Nations field of activities to matters falling outside the domestic jurisdiction of Member States. In practice, this limitation has not been clearly enough defined, particularly in the case of the Union of South Africa and France. Action by the United Nations is impossible if a particular matter falls within the domestic jurisdiction of one of the states concerned, or if such action would constitute an 'intervention' in the sense indicated in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Thus, it is essential to determine which matters fall within the domestic jurisdiction of a state—a fundamental question which gives rise to incessant disputes between the Arab-Asiatic bloc and the 'colonizing' powers.

MODEROW (W.). 'Observations sur l'affaire des fonctionnaires américains congédiés par le Secrétaire Général à la demande du gouvernement des États-Unis', *Politique étrangère*, 6, Jan. 1954, p. 501-21.

An examination of the United Nations Charter and of the staff regulations adopted by the General Assembly on 2 February 1952 shows that the legal situation of United Nations officials is based essentially on their independence *vis-à-vis* the governments of Member States and on the security of their employment. The opinion given on 29 November 1952 by the Committee of Jurists set up to study the case of the officials dismissed by the Secretary-General is open to criticism in many respects. It is based on the principle that the likelihood of an international official's engaging in subversive activities against the host country is sufficient to justify his dismissal. Owing to its complete lack of objectivity, this criterion, which was nevertheless invoked in the Secretary-General's decision, would, if maintained, create insurmountable difficulties. Moreover, the opinion of the jurists and the measures taken by the Secretary-General are in flagrant contradiction with the United Nations Charter and the principles proclaimed in Articles 10 and 11 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If the new Secretary-General wishes to avoid lowering the prestige of the Secretariat any further, he must comply with the judgment given by the United Nations Administrative Tribunal on 1 September 1953 following the appeal by the dismissed officials, and redress the errors already committed.

KAYSER (J.). 'Les problèmes de l'information devant les Nations Unies—le rapport de M. Lopez dresse un bilan et constitue une base de départ', *Études de presse* V(8), winter 1953, p. 291-305.

In 1952, Mr. Salvador Lopez, delegate for the Philippines, was instructed to submit to the Economic and Social Council 'recommendations regarding practical action which might be taken by the Council in order to surmount those obstacles to the fuller enjoyment of freedom of information which can be surmounted at the present time'. In an historical introduction, the *rapporteur* emphasizes, in particular, that the intensification of the cold war has contributed to the failure of the attempt to secure the international organization of freedom of information. His analysis of the particular

problems at present standing in the way of such organization is dominated by the idea that freedom of information is illusory unless there is a certain equality between the means at the disposal of the various countries; this equality is the aim of the efforts which Unesco and the United Nations are making to ensure international assistance in the field of mass communications. Especially noteworthy among the general recommendations of a practical and technical nature which conclude the report is the proposal that the Council should appoint annually a *rapporiteur* whose main task would be to establish liaison with the press, represented by a co-ordinating body meeting once a year.

LERICHE (A.). 'Les missions permanentes auprès de l'Organisation des Nations-Unies', *Revue de Droit International, de Sciences diplomatiques et politiques* 31(4), Oct.-Dec. 1953, p. 406-11.

Although only the States represented on the Security Council are obliged by the United Nations Charter to maintain a permanent representative at the Organization's headquarters, it has become a practice for Member States to appoint permanent missions, in spite of the fact that there is no obligation or regulation governing this matter. The 'credentials' of these representatives must be communicated to the Secretary-General of the Organization, although the relations between them are not the same as those between the head of a state and the diplomatic corps accredited to him. The main functions of these permanent missions, whose status is, in fact, very similar to that of a diplomatic mission accredited to any given state, is to ensure liaison with their respective governments and to ensure continuity between the various sessions of the Assembly and the Councils. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of ministers and heads of governments themselves attending the sessions of the Assembly and Security Council, in order to take part in the discussion of the most important problems.

MALBRANT (R.). 'O.N.U. et Union Française', *Marchés coloniaux du monde* 10(428), 23 January 1954, p. 181-84.

The fundamental task of the United Nations Fourth Committee, on Trusteeship, is to ensure the application of Article 76 of the Charter. France, convinced of its loyalty in the administration of its trust territories, has nothing to reproach itself with in this respect. Unfortunately, the anti-colonialists, who form a majority on the committee, try to create problems where none exist; the question of the regrouping of the Ewes or of the unification of the British and French mandates in Togoland and the Cameroons have provided the necessary pretexts, but, as these problems are non-existent, study of them has merely hindered the work of the Administering Authorities. Apart from this blameworthy attitude and the obvious abuse of the right of petition, the Fourth Committee is tending more and more to exceed its original terms of reference. For instance, it has established a Committee on Information from Non-self-governing Territories and the *ad hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-self-governing Territories), whose interventions are likely to complicate still further the task of the Administering Authorities. The committee maintains, quite unreasonably, its demands for self-government and independence, without taking into account the level of progress or the wishes of the population of the trust territories. France, if it wishes to avoid the dismemberment of the French Union, must adopt a firm attitude at the United Nations.

'Proposition relative à la création d'un Fonds spécial des Nations-Unies pour le développement économique', *Commission des Caraïbes, Bulletin mensuel d'information* 7(3), Oct. 1953, p. 1-2 and 13.

A committee appointed by the Secretary-General at the request of the Economic and Social Council drew up, and submitted in March 1953, a report concerning the establishment, as suggested by the General Assembly, of a United Nations Special Fund for Economic Development. This report maintains, in particular, that the establishment of such a fund would encourage the public and private investments now being made in underdeveloped countries. Moreover, it is obvious that the development of these countries could be considerably assisted by the additional contribution of non-commer-

cial capital in the form of subventions or long-term loans at low interest. The methods of financing and administering the fund, which are defined in the general recommendations contained in the report, are based on the principle of trustful relations between the governments concerned—relations designed to improve the well-being of the whole population.

RATNA RAO (T. S.). 'India and the United Nations', *The Indian Yearbook of International Affairs, 1952*. Madras, Diocesan Press, 1952-53, p. 246-57.

India, which was one of the original signatories at the San Francisco Conference to the United Nations Charter, has always attached considerable importance to the United Nations, where it plays a vital role. An intermediary between the great powers, and chosen as a mediator for the settlement of disputes, it has helped, in particular, to secure a cease-fire in Korea and to ensure the maintenance of peace. Among the various organs of the United Nations, India attributes particular importance to the Trusteeship Council. Its representatives on the council have adopted a clearly-marked attitude in favour of the independence of the peoples of trust territories. They have maintained that all trusteeship agreements come within the jurisdiction of the international organization and that the sovereignty of the territories in question belongs neither to the powers respectively responsible for their administration nor to the international organization, but to the peoples themselves. Lastly, they have insistently requested that all such agreements should provide a definite time-limit for the termination of the trusteeship and the granting of independence. Besides defending the sovereignty of the various peoples, India has also championed human rights from the standpoint of the individual. It is opposed to the 'apartheid' policy adopted by the Union of South Africa and, although its efforts have not always been successful, it still has faith in the efficacy and utility of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies.

THE INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

HERTZ (W. G.). 'Die Arbeiten der Internationalen Rechtskommission der Vereinten Nationen' (The work of the United Nations International Law Commission), *Friedens-Warte* 52(1). 1953, p. 19-47.

The International Law Commission was established by a decision taken by the United Nations General Assembly on 21 November 1947. In accordance with its statute, the commission consists of 15 members of different nationalities, chosen from among distinguished experts on the Law of Nations. The commission was entrusted with the development and codification of international law, and for each of these tasks different working methods were prescribed by its statute. Among the results achieved by the commission since 1949, mention must be made of the following: drawing up of a declaration of the rights and duties of states; drafting of the Nuremberg principles; survey of the possibilities of establishing an International Criminal Court; preparation of a Draft Code of Offences against the Peace and Security of Mankind; study of the definition of aggression and examination of problems relating to stateless persons. Whatever criticism may be levelled against many of the commission's decisions, the work accomplished by its members shows them to be eminent jurists and distinguished citizens of the world.

PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

KOMARNICKI (T.). 'The Problem of Neutrality under the United Nations Charter', *The Grotius Society. Transactions for the year 1952. Problems of Public and Private International Law*. Grotius Society, 1952, vol. 38, p. 77-91.

At present, neutrality does not afford adequate guarantees to any nation that the independence and integrity of its territory will be respected. Analysing international practice since the Briand-Kellog Pact, the author shows that neutrality is not the consequence of a unilateral act, but depends on the recognition, by the belligerent states, of the abstention and impartiality of the neutral state. The idea of non-belli-

gerence must satisfy similar conditions. Nevertheless, confusion reigns in this field: very often, the relations between belligerent and non-belligerent states have no legal foundation, but are based on political considerations and vary according to the hazards of war. The resulting uncertainty in the use of terms, which reflects the crisis through which international law is passing, became quite clear during the Korean affair. The minority of states that condemned intervention by the United Nations were represented on the committees as neutral powers. In fact, says the author, in the field of international law the concept of neutrality is undermined by the concept of non-belligerence. The inefficacy of the principle of neutrality renders illusory the protection which it should provide against aggression.

CASTBERG (Frede). 'L'influence du Droit international dans la vie des États de notre temps', *Gegenwartsprobleme des internationalen Rechtes und der Rechtsphilosophie*. Hamburg, 1953, p. 53-63, 8vo.

The author distinguishes between three categories of rules of international law according to the nature of the acts of the state on which they are binding. The first category prescribes conditions regarding the substance of legislation; the second comprises the acts required of the administrative organs of states; the third consists of rules requiring acts of a purely political nature concerning the internal and external security of states. Legislative measures are regularly applied in all civilized countries in time of peace; but in the field of external policy, international rules are frequently sacrificed to motives tending to ensure the security and peace of states in conditions which are contrary to the law. In fact, numerous legal provisions can authorize, for military reasons, impairments of a law normally in force. Certain recently inspired doctrines even aim at legitimating the violation of treaties in force by representing such violation as a normal application of recognized principles concerning the interpretation of treaties and the existence and extinction of states. In conclusion, the author maintains that peace clearly cannot be firmly established as long as such ideas are accepted as valid.

FREEMAN (Harrop A.). 'Some Frontiers for International Administrative Law', *The Indian Yearbook of International Affairs, 1952*. Madras, Diocesan Press, 1952-53, p. 46-64. The development of international administrations, even more than that of political organizations, constitutes a 'functional approach to peace'. In fact, these first must gradually settle the international problems that divide states. After defending this argument, the author examines the activities of the International Monetary Fund. He shows that this Specialized Agency can raise questions and make recommendations in fields falling within the domestic jurisdiction of Member States. Thus, to a certain extent, the Fund possesses greater powers than the United Nations' political organs, whose activities are limited by the concept of exclusive jurisdiction mentioned in paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter. The author recommends the establishment of a specialized agency, provided with extensive powers, for the control of armaments and atomic energy. It should be empowered to investigate the exploitation of deposits of radioactive materials, the constitution of stocks and their utilization. No doubt the powers of inspection entrusted to such an agency would, at the present time, raise insoluble problems; but the author hopes that the progress of international administrative law will enable a practical solution to be found.

KHALDER NAVAZ (Mahomed). 'Criminal Jurisdiction and International Law', *The Indian Yearbook of International Affairs, 1952*. Madras, Diocesan Press, 1952-53, p. 210-17.

The author analyses, from the point of view of International Law, the provisions of the Indian penal code of 1860. He shows that the principle of territoriality is the basis of all state jurisdiction. An offence committed by a person on Indian territory must be punished in accordance with the 1860 code. Thus, in this respect, there is no difference between nationals and foreigners, each of them being subject to the same jurisdiction if the offence has been committed on the same territory. The problem must be resolved in similar fashion on the extra-territorial plane. An Indian citizen who commits,

outside Indian territory, an offence punishable under the code, can be punished in the same way as if he had committed it on Indian territory. The problem of the jurisdiction binding on foreigners who have committed, outside Indian territory, an offence punishable under the code is much more difficult to solve. The author refers to the verdict in the Lotus case in support of his contention that an offence must be considered according to the territorial effects of its constitutive elements. He emphasizes, however, that there are numerous exceptions to these rules of jurisdiction, either because of international immunities or state practice.

KESVA RAO (C.). 'Civil Jurisdiction and International Law', *The Indian Yearbook of International Affairs*, 1952. Madras, Diocesan Press, 1952-53, p. 218-28.

The state has supreme authority or jurisdiction to control all persons and property within its territorial limits. It cannot, however, extend its jurisdiction beyond the authorized limits and, in particular, cannot violate the rules of international law. Thus, it cannot exercise its jurisdiction over persons and things with which it has no concern. In this respect, the law applied by the Indian tribunals is based, on the one hand, on the principle of 'effectiveness' according to which a tribunal can only pronounce a judgment if it is able to execute it within its own territory; and, on the other hand, on the principle of 'submission', which means the voluntary acceptance—express or tacit—of the authority of a court to pass judgment, which authority such a court would not otherwise possess. However, the author points out that there are exceptions to the rule that every person on the national territory is subject to the national jurisdiction. He emphasizes, in particular, that the Indo-Pakistan Treaty of 1950 obliges the signatory states to respect the fundamental rights of minorities living on their respective territories.

PASINI COSTADOAT (Carlos Alberto). 'El espacio aereo (dominium caeli)' (Air space), *Revista del Instituto de Derecho Internacional*. 1952, no. 16, p. 43-68.

Is air space divided between the respective jurisdictions of the various states or is it free space utilizable by aircraft of all nationalities? The author criticizes the theory of air zones, placing certain portions of air space under the sovereignty of a particular state by analogy with territorial space. Air space must be free in the same way as the high seas in maritime law. It is true that the Chicago Convention, in recognizing the idea of sovereignty over certain air zones, seems to be inspired by the idea that air space belongs to the state; but this doctrine is valid only up to a certain altitude. Referring to P. Fauchille's theory, the author maintains that air space is perfectly free above this altitude. It cannot be assimilated to a territory, since it cannot be made the object of material possession. Thus, air space above an altitude of 1,500 m should constitute a line of communication which is not subject to the supreme authority of states. However, this idea, which is based on law, has not been given practical application on the international plane and the idea of 'right of way' continues to be accepted by all nations.

MORENA QUINTANA (L.). 'El manual de Oxford y la guerra marítima' (The Oxford manual and maritime war), *Revista del Instituto de Derecho Internacional*. 1952, no. 16, p. 7-18.

This manual, approved by the Institute of International Law in October 1913, is of doctrinal interest for the study of the laws relating to maritime war between states. After analysing the conditions in which the manual was drafted, the author examines its doctrinal value and structure. He recalls the two interpretations given to the manual by publicists. Some have maintained that its rules apply only to the high seas; others affirm, on the contrary, that these rules are also applicable to territorial waters. International practice shows that the rules of the manual have been applied in gulfs and bays, especially with regard to the capture of vessels. However, this simply shows the need for changing the rules in order to make them conform more closely to geographical and practical realities. Consequently, from the legal point of view, the author agrees with those who favour the first interpretation. In conclusion, he emphasizes that, in

spite of the differences of opinion among the publicists, all the rules of the manual have been universally recognized, thus making it one of the first bodies of regulations for the conduct of war to be accepted on the international plane.

REITH (Charles). 'International Authority and the Enforcement of Law', *The Grotius Society. Transactions for the year 1952. Problems of Public and Private International Law*. Grotius Society, vol. 38, 1952, p. 109-24.

The employment of military forces to obtain the strict observance of legal rules on the international plane is more difficult, in practice, than the use of police forces. In support of his argument, the author emphasizes the fact that special conditions must exist before military forces can go into action—in particular, a decision has to be made by an international organization. Further, they cannot be employed unless a plan has been drawn up in advance, and this presupposes the existence of specialized bodies. The establishment of an international police would not solve all the problems, but one advantage would be that such a force could be employed without raising appreciable difficulties. Consequently, it would be able to take very effective action in preventing the outbreak of hostilities, especially by making it impossible or difficult to accumulate armaments. The author wonders whether this idea is utopian. If it is to be realized, a special body will probably have to be set up, with a staff of competent international officials. The need for establishing collective security should lead to the adoption of this solution, which would strengthen the authority of the international organization and give it the real force which it now lacks.

INTERNATIONAL PENAL LAW

SOTTILE (A.). 'Le Pape Pie XII et le Droit pénal international', *Revue de Droit international, de Sciences diplomatiques et politiques* 31(4). Oct.-Dec. 1953, p. 363-82.

The establishment of an International Criminal Court is not only possible and desirable, but useful and necessary. Its existence will exercise a restraining influence on any likely disturber of world peace. It will be the organ destined to settle the problem—hitherto unsolved—of defining aggression. Likewise, a penal code is necessary for the repression of international crimes.

The United Nations must consider the establishment of this court and the drafting of this code as one of its most urgent tasks. Up to the present, a large number of distinguished jurists have supported these arguments. Pope Pius XII completely concurred with them in his address to the International Congress of Penal Law, on 3 October 1953, in Rome. After emphasizing the importance of international penal law in the modern world, the Pope enumerated a number of offences which should be punished in accordance with an international penal code, and defined the foundations of such a code, as well as the guarantees which international penal procedure must offer to the accused.

GOLDENBERG (A. V.). 'Le Droit pénal et la Communauté Européenne de Défense', *Revue Internationale de Police criminelle* 9(75). Feb. 1954, p. 46-48.

Those provisions relating to penal law in the European Defence Community Treaty deserve to be better known, as marking a stage in the evolution of European ideas on this subject. First of all, it is interesting to note that the treaty approves the new system of international penal law established at Nuremberg, the future European Defence Community being instructed to ensure respect for the rules of the Law of Nations in all actions undertaken by or against the European forces or their members. All violations of these rules will be punished on the basis of common legislation and, until this can be drawn up, the national tribunals will be competent to deal with them in accordance with directives issued by the European Defence Community. Apart from outlining in this way a system of international penal law, the treaty institutes a system of international police co-operation and of military penal law based on certain fundamental principles which it enumerates. In general, all the provisions of the common legislation will have to guarantee the observance of the fundamental rights and freedoms of man.

HUMAN RIGHTS

WEGNER (Arthur). 'Die Stellung der Einzelperson im gegenwärtigen Völkerrecht' (The status of the individual in modern international law), *Gegenwartsprobleme des internationalen Rechtes und der Rechtspolitik*. Hamburg, 1953, p. 341-65, 8vo.

The number of refugees and displaced persons and the outrages committed in the conduct of the war have made it necessary to define the rights of the individual on the international plane. This need was met by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in December 1948, and the Geneva Conventions on the treatment of prisoners of war and the protection of civilian persons in time of war, adopted in August 1949. The author notes, however, that there is no parallel recognition of the duties of man. The latter concept must be defined, particularly with regard to its war time application, so that the conduct of hostilities does not violate the rules based on the fundamental principles of international law. Consequently, it is necessary to define these principles with regard to four categories of legal orders: that of the individual, i.e. the domain of private law; that of the state, i.e. the domain of public law; that of community groups; and, lastly, that of spiritual values and the Churches. All these legal orders must be based on the recognition of the rights and duties of man, in all fields. Precise limits must therefore be set to state action, either by the establishment of procedures for avoiding wars or, if this does not prove successful, by imposing rules for the conduct of war itself.

UHLER (Oscar M.). 'La personne humaine dans la IV^e Convention de Genève', *Revue internationale de la Croix-Rouge*. Jan. 1954, p. 11-24.

The author examines Article 27 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, relating to the protection of civilian persons in time of war. The convention stipulates that all persons protected by it shall be 'treated humanely', in accordance with the fundamental rights and freedoms of man, recognized by The Hague regulations. In this respect, it requires that states shall not only refrain from certain prohibited acts, but shall take steps to prevent others from resorting to such acts, and shall also assist the victims. These provisions apply, in particular, to the treatment of women, who are given special protection. The author emphasizes the fact that the convention excludes racial, religious or political discrimination; but he admits that reservations might be introduced to enable necessary measures to be taken for the conduct of war and the security of the state. However, these reservations must remain exceptions to the rule, and the indispensable measures adopted for these reasons must not violate the fundamental rights recognized by the convention.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

JAUNE (R.). 'L'assistance technique aux pays sous-développés sous les auspices de l'O.N.U.', *Revue des Sciences économiques* 28(96). Dec. 1953, p. 221-40.

Whereas the first technical assistance programme was to be financed solely out of the ordinary budget of the United Nations, the 'Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance' draws its funds from a pool made up of additional contributions by the United Nations Member States. These funds are distributed among the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, which, in their respective fields, co-operate in the common task, which is to help underdeveloped countries to obtain the greatest possible material and social benefit from an adequate technical and economic development. This assistance, which takes various forms, is designed to put an end to the main weaknesses of these countries: their predominantly agricultural economy, low wages and small productivity, and low average expectation of life. Within the regional and the international economic framework, vigorous action must promote rapid progress capable of exceeding the increase in population. To that effect, all nations must support the efforts of international organizations in favour of an equitable solution of the problems of production, distribution and consumption.

MENDÈS-FRANCE (P.). 'L'Assistance aux pays sous-développés (Le Point IV)', *Union Française et Parlement* 5(47). Feb. 1954, p. 3-5.

Certain fundamental principles must guide the efforts made in the field of international technical assistance. In the first place, the proposed economic programme must be conceived in relation to world economy in general, and not simply in relation to local problems. Moreover, not all the efforts must be concentrated on the development of industrial production: agricultural production must increase more rapidly than the population; this is a vital point. Again, technical assistance must not be exclusively economic; a considerable part of it must be in the form of social activity: the raising of living and cultural standards is not only the aim but also the condition of economic expansion. Special efforts must also be made to train, as rapidly as possible, the large number of experts needed for carrying out the proposed task. It is to be hoped that these efforts by the United Nations in favour of underdeveloped countries will be successful: other nations will also derive immense collective benefit from them.

'L'Assistance technique aux pays sous-développés', *Bulletin du Conseil National du Patronat français* 8(116). 5 March 1954, p. 13-18.

Granted their fundamental purpose, which is to provide the beneficiary countries with the basic elements of modern civilization, technical assistance plans tend to establish ever closer relations between the well equipped and the underdeveloped countries; this is a natural result of the growing interdependence of the nations of the world today. The programmes, which take two forms—the sending of expert missions and the training of students in the developed countries—are already numerous. The Point Four programme, the foundations of which were laid by President Truman in 1949, has already made it possible to achieve considerable results, although the projects contained in it are, by their very nature, long-term projects. The United Nations Technical Assistance Programme benefits by the financial contributions of all Member States and the co-operation of all Specialized Agencies. Its budget increases every year, and projects requiring new methods of international financing are under consideration. In addition to these two plans, there are the Colombo Plan and the French 'bilateral' system of technical assistance. French industrialists should realize that their duty, as well as their interest, enjoins them to take an ever larger part in the technical assistance programmes.

KARIUS (A.). 'Weniger Illusionen über unentwickelte Gebiete' (Fewer illusions about underdeveloped countries), *Der Volkswirt* 8(11). 13 March 1954, p. 16-17.

Considerable illusions are at present entertained with regard to underdeveloped countries. In the first place, President Truman's Point Four is not just another Marshall Plan on behalf of these countries, but simply a programme of technical assistance. Further, even if a more important scheme of economic development were undertaken within the framework of the programme, the results would be rather different from those generally anticipated. It must not be forgotten that underdeveloped countries are not only 'new' but, above all, overpopulated territories where the abundance of agricultural labour is simply a symptom of widespread unemployment. The problems created by this situation are further aggravated by demographic pressure, which normally increases when the standard of life is raised and usually tends to offset the results achieved in the economic field. Industrialization cannot be regarded as an end in itself: it must be preceded by the rational development of the countries concerned. Only then, and provided it is cautious and progressive, will industrial expansion produce the desired results.

DREYER (J. J.). 'The Economic Development of Underdeveloped Colonial Territories in Africa', *Commerce and Industry* 12(3). Nov. 1953, p. 131-39.

Numerous factors have contributed to the development of underdeveloped territories in Africa. The second world war, which obliged the Allied Powers to seek elsewhere the raw materials they could no longer find in the East, led to the first serious efforts towards the economic development of these territories. After the war, the colonial

powers continued these efforts in order to reduce the gap in their balance of payments. The demand for raw materials, increasing as international tension grew, had much the same result. At the same time, the international organizations and the United States were undertaking systematic programmes of development, which have had a decisive effect. Nevertheless, serious problems still remain to be solved: in spite of the funds provided by the Mutual Security Agency and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Africa continues to suffer from a great shortage of capital, and this situation will be remedied only by a considerable increase in private investments. Geographical factors (the inhospitable banks of rivers that are rarely navigable), as well as human factors (tropical diseases and the psychology of the natives), create problems that are just as difficult to overcome. However, the efforts already made by the colonial powers—and, more particularly, the Union of South Africa—have produced abundant results, as the statistics show.

BALAKRISNA (Dr. R.). 'Underdevelopment. A World 'Economic Liability', *The Indian Yearbook of International Affairs*, 1952. Madras, Diocesan Press, 1952-53, p. 65-77.

The underdeveloped countries of Asia and the Middle East are affected by a dynamic factor: the considerable and regular increase of their population. This factor should help to ensure their economic development, but the war, which led to their independence, also caused disturbances in their domestic politics, and the resulting instability hampered their industrialization and agricultural productivity. The Asiatic has obligations and religious and moral traditions which render him hostile to the material aspirations of the Westerner. Therefore, the means employed to remedy this situation must not destroy the traditional social structures. It is essential, however, that the state should carry out important economic reforms. As private initiative is often very inadequate, the state must establish plans for investments and adopt regulations likely to promote economic development. Nevertheless, it would be useless to think of undertaking this expansion without foreign aid. Consequently, international institutions, Point Four, and the Colombo Plan, have an important part to play. Underdeveloped countries thus constitute an experimental field for international co-operation and intervention by the state in the economic field.

TRUST TERRITORIES

CURCIO (Carlo). 'Il problema coloniale' (The colonial problem), *Studi politici*. Year II, nos. 3-4, Sept. 1953-Feb. 1954, p. 462-79.

The San Francisco Conference dealt the final blow to the great colonial empires which had already been considerably shaken by the war. In fact, the United Nations Charter lays down precise rules for the control of non-self-governing territories and establishes a Trusteeship Council which is entitled to accept and examine petitions by the peoples of these territories. Supported by all the states that are hostile to the various forms of colonialism, especially the Asiatic countries, non-self-governing territories are therefore gradually achieving independence.

According to the author, the United States has played a vital part in this evolution; radically opposed to the traditional colonial policy, it has supported the aspirations of all states endeavouring to free themselves from the trusteeship exercised by the administering powers. Thus the concept of colony has almost fallen out of use, and ideas which were universally accepted at the end of the nineteenth century regarding the connexion between colonization and the progress of civilization, and the part played by missionaries from highly-developed countries, could not be expressed today without arousing the liveliest protest. It is not only the idea of colonization itself that has been discredited, but also the values the Western states represent. Animated by a spirit of aggressive nationalism, states that have recently acquired their independence are opposed to the European form of civilization, which they reject as a whole, without trying to understand it. However, the problem of the economic development of non-self-governing territories cannot be solved without co-operation between fully developed states and

'backward' territories, and the nature of this co-operation on the international plane has still to be determined.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

'Haut Commissaire des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés. Quatrième session du Comité Consultatif', *Informations Sociales* 11(8). 15 April 1954, p. 376-82.

During its fourth session, held at Geneva from 2 to 4 March 1954, the United Nations High Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Refugees devoted its attention to two fundamental problems. Firstly, an examination of the situation of the United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund showed that it had been possible to grant a minimum of material aid to refugees in countries which were unable to provide for their upkeep. A special effort has been made in favour of Europeans now being evacuated from China. Unfortunately, such action is jeopardized by the inadequacy of the funds allocated to the High Commissioner. The committee also studied the permanent solutions that might be given to the problem of refugees still living in camps. In this respect, it seems obvious that it would be to the advantage of governments to encourage the absorption of refugees rather than make grants to them. In this field, too, considerable funds are required.

BODE (Dr.). 'La Convention relative au statut des réfugiés', *Revue internationale de la Croix-Rouge* 36(422). Feb. 1954, p. 123-28.

The dimensions assumed by the refugee problem after the second world war led the United Nations to seek practical solutions—UNRRA, then IRO—and legal solutions. The particular task of the United Nations in this field is to ensure legal protection for refugees on an international basis. It was to that effect that the representatives of 26 states published, on 28 July 1951, the Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees, which has just entered into force following on its ratification by a sixth signatory state, Australia. An analysis of its contents shows that this convention, although it still leaves much to be desired, represents a great effort to improve the situation of refugees. It is to be hoped that a large number of states will ratify it and that the states of the 'Eastern bloc', whose citizens constitute an important proportion of the refugees protected by the convention, will also be among the signatories.

DISARMAMENT

INGLIS (D. R.). 'The H-Bomb and Disarmament Prospects', *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 10(2). Feb. 1954, p. 41-45 and 64.

With the invention of the H-bomb, the world has begun to realize the immense destructive power of atomic weapons. It is becoming ever more certain that both hostile camps have practically the same possibilities in this sphere. President Eisenhower's address to the United Nations is significant in this respect. He pointed out that the West no longer has a qualitative superiority over the East, but merely a quantitative superiority, which itself is only temporary. Analysing the situation with complete frankness, the President makes the world two proposals of inestimable importance. He suggests, firstly, the establishment of an organization designed to pool, for peaceful purposes, the world's knowledge and productive potentialities in the field of atomic energy. He then proposes the creation of a body for the control of atomic production and disarmament. These proposals, which are closely linked with the problem of the revision of the United Nations Charter, raise the question of the establishment of a world government, which alone would be able to control the alarming progress of the destructive power of the atom.

THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

ROSENNE (S.). 'L'exécution et la mise en vigueur des décisions de la Cour Internationale de Justice', *Revue générale de Droit international public* 57(24). Oct.-Dec. 1953, p. 532-83.

The absence of an international sovereign authority capable of enforcing the judgments of the International Court gives a special character to the Court's decisions: their execution rests entirely on the moral obligation assumed by the various states. This obligation is clearly imposed by the terms of the Charter, particularly by Article 94, paragraph 1. The non-observance, by any state, of a judgment of the International Court constitutes an international offence and gives the other party to the case the right to exercise coercion. The latter must, however, remain within the limits of international law, i.e. must not, by threat or force, violate the political or territorial integrity of the state concerned. There are also other limitations, which are more specifically due to the inadequate organization of the international society: it is in fact extremely difficult to carry out the decisions of the United Nations, as is shown by an analysis of the South-West Africa case, for instance. The greatest indecision continues to characterize the problem of the execution of the judgments of the International Court of Justice with regard to everything concerning the role of States and international organizations.

FARTACHE (M.). 'De la compétence de la Cour Internationale de Justice dans l'Affaire de l'Anglo-Iranian Oil Co.', *Revue générale de Droit international public* 57(24). Oct.-Dec. 1953, p. 584-612.

When, at the beginning of 1951, the Iranian Parliament passed a law nationalizing the oil industry throughout the whole of the national territory, a dispute arose between the Government of Iran and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. The United Kingdom brought this dispute before the International Court of Justice in virtue of its right of diplomatic protection. Iran immediately submitted a number of pleas, contesting the Court's jurisdiction in the matter. The general plea regarding the Court's lack of jurisdiction was held to be valid with regard to acts and treaties prior to the 1930 declaration, by which Iran agreed to submit itself to international jurisdiction. The British Government also failed to gain satisfaction by basing its case on the most favoured nation clause: the Court disclaimed jurisdiction by nine votes to five. It is to be regretted, however, that it gave no judgment on the particularly important question as to whether the matter did or did not fall within the 'exclusive jurisdiction' of Iran.

JULLY (L.). 'L'affaire anglo-norvégienne des pêcheries devant la Cour Internationale de Justice', *Friedens-Warte* 52(1). 1953, p. 48-66.

The importance of the dispute between Norway and the United Kingdom, brought before the International Court of Justice, is clearly shown by the United Kingdom's traditional declaration of its intention to defend, by force of arms if necessary, its own conception of the limits of territorial waters. The Court finally recognized the validity of the Norwegian conception, basing its decision essentially on geographical realities and on the principle that the belt of territorial waters should follow the general direction of the coast. The adoption of this rule and the atmosphere during the hearing of the case show that the Court's decision is much more than a simple solution of the Anglo-Norwegian dispute. The same is true of the principle, also admitted during this case, that the reality and importance of economic interests peculiar to a certain region cannot be taken into consideration unless they have been confirmed by long usage, established by the international tribunal. Numerous countries, particularly Iceland, are already envisaging the application to their territorial waters of the principles contained in the Court's decision. The whole problem deserves to be carefully examined. It is to be hoped that this will be done by the International Law Commission.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

LALOIRE (M.). 'L'Organisation Internationale de Travail', *Revue nouvelle* 18(11). 15 Nov. 1953, p. 409-14.

As the funds placed at its disposal are to be reduced, the International Labour Organisation will be obliged to slow down its activities, especially in the field of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. Such a situation, which is ascribable to the hostility encountered by the organization, particularly on the part of employers, seems both shocking and paradoxical at a time when the responsibilities of countries with a high standard of living towards the so-called underdeveloped countries are steadily increasing. ILO's work in the field of technical assistance is considerable. The delegates of the beneficiary countries have proclaimed the need for its continuation and even for its intensification. Underdeveloped countries need specialists in professional training and statistics, and they must be able to send increasingly larger number of workers to be trained in the great industrial countries. These needs will continue to increase as demographic pressure increases economic difficulties. Technical assistance can produce results only after many years of efforts; ILO must be given the necessary means for continuing it on a larger scale.

EGGERMANN (G.). 'Le Conseil d'administration du B.I.T. tient sa 123^e session', *Labor* 26(6-7). Dec. 1953-Jan. 1954, p. 147-51.

During its 123rd session, in November 1953, ILO's Governing Body made a large number of decisions, one of which concerned the convening of a European Regional Conference at the end of 1954. The agenda of this conference will be devoted mainly to problems of productivity, the financing of social security, the age of retirement, as well as to the revision of the standing orders of the industrial committees. Although a few rather timid measures have been taken with regard to the fight against forced labour, ILO has done nothing to give effect to the complaints made against violations of trade union freedom. Lastly, the Governing Body has fixed the agenda for the thirty-eighth session of the International Labour Conference. Three important problems will be examined: social service for workers, professional training in agriculture, and the revision of the convention concerning protection against accidents (dockers).

SULKOWSKI (Dr.). 'Les conférences régionales de l'Organisation Internationale de Travail', *Revue générale de Droit international public* 57(24). Oct.-Dec. 1953, p. 613-30. Regional conferences, inaugurated in 1935, have become one of ILO's regular activities. According to the rules concerning their powers, functions and procedure, these conferences are attended mainly by delegations from each 'state or territory invited by the International Labour Organisation', an ambiguous formula which, in fact, refers to Member States and their other territories, including trust territories. These conferences are also attended by a delegation from ILO's Governing Body and by representatives of international organizations (governmental and non-governmental). The agenda of the conferences is fixed by the Governing Body, which also takes the necessary steps to give effect to the resolutions passed, since the conferences themselves have no power to adopt conventions or recommendations, even if these are of purely regional importance. The dependence of the regional conferences upon the Governing Body is shown by another provision in their statutory rules, empowering the Governing Body to decide on the validity of the credentials of delegates to the conferences.

THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

NORDLANDER (C. H.). 'F A O: s Verksamhet' (The activities of FAO), *Jordbruksconomiska Meddelanden* 16(1). Jan. 1954, p. 3-13.

The last conference of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), held in Rome in December 1953, marked an important stage in its development. Whereas, during a previous session, it had been decided to make a general effort to increase agricultural production, it is interesting to note that, this time, FAO recom-

mended selective efforts, confined mainly to the products most in demand and to the countries which are still most dependent on foreign aid. The conference did not find any effective or satisfactory solution to the problem of the disposal of agricultural surpluses. A special committee has been instructed to study this question. Nor was there unanimity regarding the establishment of an International Subsistence Fund. Nevertheless, the results achieved by FAO are of inestimable importance, and the budgetary contributions of Member States are undoubtedly profitable investments.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

MERWIN (C. L.). 'Qu'advent-il du Fonds Monétaire International?', *Revue Économique*. March 1954, no. 2, p. 252-62.

In spite of unfavourable circumstances, such as the persistence of international tension or the adoption, by most countries, of development programmes with a necessarily inflationist tendency, the International Monetary Fund has done valuable work during the first seven years of its existence. Endeavouring to impose sound methods in the field of international exchanges, it has succeeded in promoting international financial co-operation, which has brought about a considerable improvement in the world payments situation and an important decrease in the restrictions imposed on international transactions. Its international character and the value of the information provided have also enabled it to undertake numerous activities in the field of technical assistance. Its achievements are no less remarkable in the fields of information and documentation. Recent decisions tend to relax the rules governing the right of members to draw on the Fund's currency reserves—rules which had frequently given rise to criticism.

'Les récentes décisions du Fonds Monétaire International et la convertibilité des monnaies', *Problèmes économiques* 318. 2 Feb. 1954, p. 1-2.

With the explicit intention of supporting nations wishing to make their currency convertible, the International Monetary Fund's Board of Executive Directors decided, in December 1953, to relax the rules governing the right of members to draw on the Fund's currency reserves, i.e. to increase the duration of the loans granted from these reserves from six months to two years. This is equivalent to endowing countries fearing the effects convertibility might have on their gold or dollar reserves with a kind of exchange stabilization fund. In this way the Fund has made definite progress, but there is still much to be done. In particular, a greater fluctuation in the exchange rates on the official markets should be authorized. Similarly, to keep pace with the variations in prices and the expansion of international trade since 1945, the Fund's reserves of convertible currencies should be increased by appreciably augmenting the contributions of the United States and Canada.

BOOK REVIEWS

UNITED NATIONS

MANGONE (Gerard J.). *A Short History of International Organization* (*McGraw Hill Series in Political Science*). New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1954, 326 p.

'International organization' is here taken in the broadest sense, and the author deals with experiments in the co-operative regulation of affairs between sovereign states

from ancient Egypt to the Korean war. The first half of the book gives a bird's-eye view of the development in both scope and size of the technique of nations meeting together or combining to solve their common problems. Mention is made of the inter-Aegean treaties prior to 338 B.C., early European leagues, such as the Swiss Confederation of 1315, the Congress of Westphalia and the Hanseatic League, and the emergence of modern international relations through the Peace of Utrecht is traced.

Professor Mangone accords considerable space to a discussion of the treaties and congresses which took place in Europe during and immediately after the Napoleonic era, outlining the strength and weaknesses of the settlement which emerged from the Congress of Vienna and the breakdown of the consultative system at the end of the nineteenth century. He goes on to deal with a number of those nineteenth century conventions which so successfully regulated international technical intercourse in such matters as river traffic, railway, postal and telegraphic communications, health, patents, copyrights, commerce and agriculture—matters too often ignored by writers determined to take a gloomy view of what it is possible to achieve across national boundaries. A chapter on the development of international law, from the concept of the natural law through the works of Gentili and Grotius down to the Second Hague Peace Conference in 1907, concludes this opening section.

The second half of the book contains a much fuller account of modern institutions set up for the furtherance of international collaboration. A history of the League of Nations and an appraisal of its problems and shortcomings is followed by a detailed chapter on the United Nations, in which both its build-up and its work are excellently presented. Professor Mangone then takes up the threads of the story of nineteenth-century regulation and shows how, during the past 50 years, the agencies then established have come to maturity and how many fields have been brought under some form of control by the Specialized Agencies of the League and the United Nations, ranging from the International Civil Aviation Organization to the administration of internationalized territory in Danzig, the Saar and Trieste. The work is rounded off with a study of selected examples of regional international organization, such as the various forms taken by the inter-American system, Arab collective action and the forces working towards European unity.

Professor Mangone's book is a valuable combination of the approaches associated with international relations, history, political science and international law, setting the already well-publicized activities of modern organizations in their proper perspective and historical background. Each chapter is carefully documented and there are appendices at the end of most chapters which give verbatim extracts from, or quote *in extenso*, selected documents pertinent to the matters just discussed—the Utrecht Peace Treaty, Covenant of the League of Nations, North Atlantic Treaty, etc.

HOFMANN (Stanley). *Organisations internationales et pouvoirs politiques des États (Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, no. 54)*. Paris, A. Colin, 1954, 428 p., 8vo.

The author sets out to determine the extent to which states have sacrificed or limited some of their powers of jurisdiction by the creation of international organizations. He also seeks, by analysing their modes of procedure, to define the influence exerted by these organizations in the fulfilment of their functions. The aim of such a study is 'of a political character', and law is envisaged merely as an instrument of action in international relations.

An historical study brings out the influence of the European concert of nations upon great and small powers. With the League of Nations the conception of a 'normative ideal' emerged, but the League did not have the necessary powers to make its influence widely felt. Its effect on the jurisdiction of states in political matters was limited by the inadequate legal means at its disposal. The United Nations, on the other hand, intervenes more effectively in the field of national jurisdiction, a situation that is to be explained by the transfer of powers of jurisdiction to the Assembly and by the use of energetic methods of procedure. The United Nations, however, has exerted an influence only on small and medium-sized states, and has had no effect on the satellites of the

great powers. Therefore, although international organizations have played a considerable part in developing inter-state co-operation, their powerlessness to intervene in conflicts between the great powers must be admitted.

ZASLOFF (Joseph Jeremiah). *Great Britain and Palestine. A Study of the Problem before the United Nations*. Geneva, E. Droz, 1952, 187 p., bibliography, 8vo.

After 1945, Great Britain followed in Palestine a policy dictated by contradictory considerations based on the promises she had made to the Jews during the war and her concern to maintain friendly relations with the Arab countries in order to protect her economic interests. As she was unable to keep the peace, she was obliged rapidly to hand over this task to the United Nations. This was a particularly severe test for the international organization. The local difficulties, arising from the positions of the two adversaries, were aggravated on the international level by the rivalry between the Western powers and the Soviet Union. Despite this situation, the United Nations achieved a positive result; its mediator secured a cease-fire and two armistices were concluded under the aegis of the Security Council. It is true that the present positions, as shown on the map, are more the result of military operations than of international mediation. The United Nations, to some extent, sanctioned a *fait accompli*, but its essential and unique role was to supply the setting and the means for negotiations between Arabs and Jews. Lastly it has taken, and continues to take, most effective steps to assist the crowds of refugees who are the chief victims of the conflict in Palestine.

AYUB. *The United Nations at Work*. Karachi, Pakistan, Institute of International Affairs, 1952, 40 p., 8vo.

After analysing the origin and development of the United Nations, the author draws a picture of its structure and functions and then goes on to study its actual work. In the political field he emphasizes the 'international forum' aspect of the United Nations. The establishment of special commissions has greatly facilitated the solution of difficult problems, such as the problem of Greece or of Palestine. In the economic and social field the United Nations has done effective work through its Specialized Agencies. The most important tasks at present are those which have to do with technical assistance. In any case, the author recognizes the importance of certain assistance machinery existing outside the framework of the United Nations, such as the American Point Four programme and the Colombo Plan inaugurated by Great Britain. Moreover, the United Nations has played and is still playing an important part in aiding refugees and displaced persons. Among the other activities of the United Nations the author draws particular attention to the Trusteeship Council, which has brought about the signature of trusteeship agreements and exercises a real control over the administration of the territories under this system. The author concludes by affirming that the United Nations cannot work except in an atmosphere of international co-operation.

KERNO (Ivan). 'L'Organisation des Nations Unies et La Cour internationale de Justice' (*Recueil des cours de l'Académie de droit international*), Paris, Sirey, 1951, p. 511-74, 8vo.

The International Court of Justice is, in the words of the Charter, 'the principal judicial organ of the United Nations'. The International Court of Justice has always considered the Charter of the United Nations as 'the constitutional instrument of the organized world community' and has accordingly interpreted the text in its literal and somewhat restrictive sense. In order to carry out this function, the Court has had to establish close connexions with the Secretariat of the United Nations. In this way, constant and systematic co-operation, such as was envisaged in the Charter and the Statute, has become established. On the administrative level, the Secretariat intervenes, notwithstanding the presence and activity of the Registrar's office, to settle numerous internal problems of the Court. It also takes part in the procedure of giving advisory opinions. In short, as the author remarks, the Secretariat is the 'historian' of matters laid before the Court and its role is that of a *rappoiteur*, whose task it is to supply factual or legal information needed by the Court in delivering its opinion.

BASTID (Suzanne). 'La Jurisprudence de la Cour internationale de Justice' (*Recueil des cours de l'Académie de droit international*), Paris, Sirey, 1951, p. 579-636, 8vo. The binding force of legal precedents confers on jurisprudence a leading role in the development of a legal system. The author studies from that standpoint the function of the International Court of Justice, whose activity has led to the creation of the first rough draft of international jurisprudence. The author gives a systematic analysis of the decisions of the Court, and classes each particular problem in a more general category. After dealing with the basic ideas of the competence and function of the Court, the author then begins her survey with decisions relating to international conventions and the general principles of law. The concept of international legal status is precisely stated and in this connexion the Corfu Channel Case enables the meaning and scope of the concept of national sovereignty to be defined in terms of international law. The judgments and opinions given by the International Court of Justice are particularly useful for the study of United Nations law, especially as regards all questions relating to the admission of new Member States, to the competence of the General Assembly, and to the legal status of international civil servants. The position of the Court with regard to problems concerning the peaceful settlement of international disputes shows the legal importance of the actual wording to the arbitration clauses and establishes the fact that arbitration rests on the consent of states. Notwithstanding the relatively small number of decisions it has given, the International Court of Justice is one of the most important bodies as regards the formulation of the law of international organizations.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

WEHBERG (Hans). *Krieg und Eroberung im Wandel des Völkerrechts*. Frankfurt on the Main, Alfred Metzner, 1953, 135 p., 8vo.

In the classic conception of international law, recourse to war, the application of the principle of the 'just war', was accorded to every State as an attribute of its sovereignty. The outlawing of force as a means of settling disputes made its appearance only with the Covenant of the League of Nations and above all with the Briand-Kellogg Pact. The territorial integrity of states was regarded, from that time on, as one of the foundations of the international order and every threat against this integrity was to be met by sanctions. The United Nations Charter sought to give practical force to these principles. It postulates as a basis of international law that every unauthorized use of force against one or more states is regarded as illegal, thus condemning all the principles which might justify the old law of conquest. In this evolution of international legal doctrine, the author gives a special place to the doctrine of non-recognition put forward by Secretary of State Stimson. He emphasizes that the recognition of territorial changes brought about by war places a premium on aggression, and implies a toleration of the illegal use of force which is contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter. He admits, however, that it may sometimes be necessary to proceed to *de facto* recognition, and that a legal solution of that kind may well have certain results and is a first step towards the recognition properly so-called of an act of annexation. It is therefore expedient that recognition should be subjected to legal limitations so as to allow of only strictly necessary relations, and that it should be granted without prejudice to the right of the world community of states to liberate illegally occupied territory.

PLISCHKE (Elmer). *International Relations. Basic Documents*. New York, Van Nostrand, 1953, 194 p., 8vo.

The author has collected and classified a number of documents designed to serve as a basis for the study of inter-state relations. The documents are preceded by explanatory notes dealing with the questions systematically, according to subject, and are generally accompanied by charts defining and illustrating the structure of international bodies and administrations concerned with the conduct of foreign affairs. Most of the problems raised by international law and inter-state relations are to be found in this book.

The author also examines the conduct of foreign policy and diplomatic rights and immunities; the power to conclude treaties; the status of international bodies; questions relating to the recognition and independence of the state; maritime and air law, and finally all problems concerning the peaceful settlement of international disputes, collective security and the law of war. The texts quoted are mostly taken from American law, particularly the rules governing the action of the United States of America in the international field. However, an important place is reserved for the United Nations and the International Court of Justice.

CASSIN (R.). *La déclaration universelle et la mise en œuvre des droits de l'homme*. Paris, Sirey, 1951, 8vo. (Recueil des cours de l'Académie de droit international, p. 241-365).

The protection and defence of human rights have their basis and acquire their legally obligatory character in the San Francisco Charter. Indeed, this task takes its place among the primordial duties of the United Nations organizations. A definition of human rights was not given in the Charter: this is to be found in the Universal Declaration adopted in 1948, which envisages four categories of human rights: personal rights, community rights and finally the rights of the individual in the political and economic fields. The effective defence of these basic rights calls for means of action not at present at the disposal of the United Nations. In order to remedy this situation a draft covenant has been studied with a view to putting into operation the principles that have thus been recognized. States would be obliged to undertake definite commitments, involving the adoption of national measures designed to ensure the protection and defence of the rights upheld by the United Nations. This would have to be supplemented by special international measures, particularly by granting, to an organ of the United Nations, powers of control not at present in the possession of the Commission on Human Rights. The author recognizes, however, that the idea of exclusive national sovereignty will raise many difficulties, sometimes insoluble.

FENWICK (Charles G.). 'The progress of international law during the past forty years, (Recueil des cours de l'Académie de droit international). Paris, Sirey, 1951, p. 5-71, 8vo. The author draws up a balance sheet of important problems in international law which have taken decisive shape since the beginning of the century. In the forefront of these problems, he notes the marked incursion of international regulations into municipal law. As a consequence of this, states tend to be less reserved about entering the international system, and the principle of non-participation in international organizations, which was still potent after the first world war, has been abandoned. No less remarkable is the growth of regional organizations, whose validity has been recognized in the Charter of the United Nations. Certain technical questions, such as *de facto* recognition, on which there was agreement at the beginning of the century, are now the subject of lively controversy. Finally, the principle of collective security and means for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, such as arbitration and conciliation, have become more widespread without, however, achieving the results that were hoped of them. The establishment of an organization furnished with the necessary powers to repress attempts at aggression and avoid conflicts has certainly made important progress with the United Nations, but important problems of international law—such as the problem of neutrality—are more confused than ever. In fact, concludes the author, the principles of international law have not been matched by power effective enough to ensure that they are respected.

GIRAUD (Emile). 'Le Secrétariat des organisations internationales' (Recueil des cours de l'Académie de droit international), Paris, Sirey, 1951, p. 373-507, 8vo.

Notwithstanding the resemblances they may show to national administrations, the secretariats of international organizations present problems which are more of a political than a legal character. Their role is fairly easy to define: their essential task is to collect the documentation required for the work of delegates, to prepare meetings and draft all memoranda or recommendations likely to be of use during the discussions. They are therefore to be ranked as civil servants having recognized duties to perform

and doing work of real value. In this connexion, the author draws a distinction between permanent members of the secretariats, temporary members, and experts called in to execute a particular task and whose job finishes with the conclusion of that task. Although the part played by the secretariats is important, particularly in maintaining continuity in the activities of the international organizations, the author emphasizes that their usefulness is independent of the usefulness of the organization itself. Their role is, in fact, limited and the improvement of their own structure does not mean an extension of their field of competence.

BRUCCULLERI (Angelo). *L'ordine internazionale*, Rome, la Civiltà Cattolica, 1945, 84 p., 8vo.

A theoretical study of international law shows that there exists at the base of inter-state relations, an ethical principle which is unwritten law. That is the true foundation of peace which, in Catholic doctrine, results from the establishment of a certain order. This conception brings out the full force of certain legal principles, affirmed in the Encyclical letters, such as that the rights of the individual come before the rights of the state, whose sovereignty is limited; the right to existence of nations and racial minorities; the recognition of certain 'psychological principles' such as moral disarmament. In international practice, certain problems nevertheless remain difficult to solve. Among these must be reckoned the fair distribution of raw materials among the nations of the world and the reduction of armaments. The want of a solution to these two problems is a basic cause of economic crises and wars. Inter-state co-operation, adumbrated in the League of Nations, should enable the United Nations to take decisive action. The author concludes his study with an analysis of the work of international organizations and the spiritual influence of the Church in inter-state relations.

MESSINEO (A.). *Il diritto internazionale nella dottrina cattolica*, Rome, la Civiltà Cattolica, 418 p., 8vo.

The author works out a theory on the nature of the international society by enquiring into its foundations: solidarity and the community of aims and duties. The analysis of the foundation upon which international obligations rest makes it possible to bring out clearly the law of that society and to revise the concept of unwritten law. It is thus possible to place on a solid basis fundamental rights of which the law of preservation and the right to independence are the most important. The second part of the book is devoted to a study of the prerogative of the state, particularly the concept of sovereignty. The author begins by stating that autarchy is the essence of the state, and proceeds to explain the Catholic doctrine of the equality of states on the legal level. If such a thing as a hierarchy exists in the international sphere, it is *de facto* and not *de jure*. An analysis of the concept of sovereignty properly so-called shows that it has an absolute significance in the history of the international legal order. Nevertheless, if the true principle of sovereignty is supreme power, this power is limited by the recognition of certain fundamental rights of the individual and of human communities.

LENER (S.). *Crimini di guerra e delitti contro l'umanità*, Rome, la Civiltà Cattolica, 1948, 159 p., 8vo.

An historical survey of international tribunals set up since the end of the first world war, by the Treaty of Versailles, up to and including the Nuremberg Tribunal, makes it possible to draw a distinction between war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes against peace. This last category seems to the author to include purely political acts difficult to penalize. Crimes against humanity and the problems raised by the introduction of this new concept into criminal law are analysed in more detail. Starting from universally accepted standards, the author endeavours to fit the concept of crime into the framework of the general principles of law by showing the advantages of 'formal' justice as compared with the 'material' justice of the Soviet and Nazi type. He concludes with a review of the solutions arrived at by the Nuremberg Tribunal, underlining the ideological differences between the members of the tribunal and the essentially political character of the trial. He comes to the conclusion that even if war

cannot at present be considered as a crime or an offence against the law, an appeal should be made to the universally accepted rules of law.

STRAUSZ-HUPE (Robert), **POSSONY** (Stefan). *International Relations. Documents and Readings.* New York, MacGraw-Hill, 536 p., 8vo, bibliography, maps, charts.

In the United States of America the study of international relations is regarded as a science independent of international law, and is founded primarily on an analysis of the political relations between states. Thus the authors, following a systematic plan, focus attention on the elements of state power in the international system, then upon the rules whereby that power is exercised, and finally upon the limitations imposed on state action by the existence of an international system and of bodies upon which other states are represented. Foreign policy is analysed by a politico-legal method which enables its motives and means to be defined. The authors bring their survey to bear on German-Soviet relations and on relations between the Allies during the second world war. Passing on to an examination of problems presented on the international level and requiring a solution on the part of bodies such as the United Nations, they give an historical account of the problems of disarmament and the control of atomic energy, indicating the motives which induced states] to adopt a position in harmony with their own interests. Questions relating to the prevention of war are given a prominent place in the book: the Atlantic Alliance is presented as a regional pact in conformity with the United Nations Charter and as an essential foundation of peace. The extension of inter-state co-operation within the framework of regional pacts makes a state's commitment to the international system appear even stronger and emphasizes the intermingling of municipal and international law.

THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

DESPRES (Jean-Pierre). *Le Canada et l'Organisation Internationale du Travail.* Montreal, Fides, 1947, 273 p., 8vo.

The author begins by studying the purpose and function of the International Labour Organisation and analyses the origin of the idea of the legal protection of workers. He then proceeds to examine the problems raised by the participation of Canada in the work of this organization. As distinct from the other international organizations, the ILO enjoys statutory powers enabling it to intervene in matters generally reserved for the exclusive jurisdiction of individual states. The adhesion of Canada to the convention establishing the ILO therefore raises a delicate legal problem, on account of the federative structure of a state in which the provinces have preserved important powers. Indeed, every convention, if it is to be legally applied, has to be submitted for ratification by the various provinces. In order to standardize working conditions in Canada the author would like to see the federal state empowered to ratify an international labour convention for and in the name of a particular province and also in its own name. He further suggests the creation of an inter-provincial labour committee and of a special department to deal with ILO matters, so as to arouse a special interest in the provinces in the work of that organization, and to ensure a judicious choice of delegates to represent Canada in the different branches of the ILO and particularly in the industrial committees.

MARRAMA (Vittoria). *La banca mondiale e lo sviluppo economico dei paesi anestrati.* Milan, l'industria, 22 p., 8vo.

The part played by the International Bank in assisting underdeveloped countries is a direct result of its financial responsibilities, whereby it is obliged to assist in the economic development of those countries by facilitating the investment of capital, whether this takes the form of loans from its own funds or of capital from other sources. Studying the conditions laid down by the Bank for the granting of loans, the author notes that the borrower must consult it regarding the scope to be given to the practical projects for which he is asking financial assistance and about the detailed plans for carrying out the work. The Bank therefore has power to examine the whole project submitted to it; if

the loan it grants does not cover the total cost of the operation, it helps to raise private capital which is thus invested in regions and sectors where it would not be invested but for the intervention of the Bank. The fact that the Bank is concerned in a particular project therefore provides a kind of guarantee of economic development creating favourable conditions for the investment of capital. In this way the Bank collaborates in technical assistance provided by the United Nations and by certain great powers, through procuring the necessary financial resources for setting on foot large-scale equipment projects, which are the essential preliminary to economic development.

DI SIMONE (Giovanni Maria). *Progetti di cooperazione monetaria e finanziaria internazionale*.

Rome, Bancaria, 1952, 72 p., 8vo.

International financial bodies, whether their purpose is to facilitate exchanges through multilateral payments, like the European Payments Union, to grant loans, like the International Bank, or to carry out financial policy, like the International Monetary Fund, are certainly effective but lack the necessary means to solve certain problems. The expansion of the European Payments Union into an Atlantic Payments Union can help the development of exchanges between highly industrialized countries only. There is, in fact, need for a body capable of encouraging the growth of trade with under-developed countries. The author then examines schemes which have already been put forward several times for establishing an international financial company. This body would be competent to grant medium and long-term credits; it would call to a large extent upon private enterprise and should possess a Statute and means of action more flexible than those of the International Bank. It would not, of course, be able to solve all the problems connected with the establishment of programmes of economic development and the total number of its commitments would be limited; but it would be the rational complement of the work of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund.

NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

ALLEGRINI (Alberto). *L'amministrazione fiduciaria della Somalia* (un singolare trusteeship).

Vicenza, Arte grafiche delle Venezie, 1951, 40 p., 8vo.

The evolution of the status of Somaliland, from the League of Nations Mandate to the Trusteeship Agreement signed under the aegis of the United Nations, has been in the direction of a strengthening of the political and administrative controls exercised by the international authority. The work of the Trusteeship Council is particularly effective, both as regards the reports submitted to it and the more direct action represented by the inquiries carried out into the methods of the administrators. On the political level it is conceded that trusteeship must lead to independence. In any case, the abolition of the Trusteeship Agreement and the recognition of Somaliland as an independent state depend upon the fulfilment of certain conditions: the establishment of a central authority and an independent local administration capable of guaranteeing the preservation of law and order; the organization of a judiciary body designed to ensure the defence of human rights. In another field, the creation of a Somaliland currency would not solve the economic and financial problems involved in the development of the country's resources and in its balance of payments. Somaliland, which is politically free, must remain economically dependent on a great power.

UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

SCHUSTER (Hans). *Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit mit unterentwickelten Ländern*. Bremen, Bremer Ausschuss für Wirtschaftsforschung, 1951, 125 p., 8vo.

Point Four is a proof of the United States' determination to ensure in the under-developed countries, regarded as 'economic vacuums', a certain degree of economic development, indispensable for the increase of international trade. It also reflects United States' concern to maintain a certain political stability in countries often

profoundly changed by the war. Can the Point Four programme solve the problems impeding the industrialization of the underdeveloped countries? Having studied, from the economic, demographic and sociological points of view, the concept of underdeveloped countries, the author affirms that American aid finds its necessary complement in the assistance supplied by the United Nations. Whereas the former aims primarily at ensuring the development of industry, particularly in the mining sector, the latter is more concerned with improving agricultural methods and with the establishment of social services in the domains of health and culture. These problems have been solved in a rather different way by the colonial powers, who have set on foot vast development plans, particularly in Africa. Notwithstanding the aid given up to the date under consideration, no provision was made for increasing the volume of exports or building up a national reserve. The author concludes by indicating the need for co-operation on the part of the highly-developed countries and shows what could be accomplished by European countries, including Germany, if they adopted a common policy in this field.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

RITTERSHAUSEN (Dr. Heinrich). *Internationale Handels und Devisenpolitik*. Frankfort on the Main; Fritz Knapp, 1953, 448 p., 8vo.

Notwithstanding exchange restrictions, the policy of the various states as regards international trade has moved in the direction of more effective co-operation, through the establishment of international organizations. It is true that every state at present has the power to take steps regarding tariffs, quotas, and currency regulations that would enable it very effectively to control the direction and volume of its external trade. The author insists, in this respect, on the importance of currency regulations, especially through the medium of the central banks, and on the fixing of exchange rates. Concurrently with this development of state influence, however, he emphasizes the efforts for economic co-operation that have been made within the framework of the international organizations. He analyses the role of GATT and the stages of the struggle for the lowering of trade barriers. It must be admitted that the results are still limited; the ideas which lay behind the creation of an international trade organization, particularly economic expansion and the increase of the volume of international trade within a policy of full employment, have not been realized in practice. Nevertheless, the part played by the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development shows the usefulness and efficacy of the work of international organizations. The dilemma of increasing international trade or resorting to war must be solved unequivocally in favour of peace.

HUG (Walther). 'The law of international payments' (*Recueil des cours de l'Académie de droit international de La Haye, 1951*), Paris, Sirey, 1952, p. 515-711, 8vo.

The legal basis of the international payments system has its origin in the measures for the restriction of international trade arising out of the crisis of 1929. These regulations were specified and completed in bilateral or multilateral agreements concluded after 1945. The legal controls thus imposed therefore had their origin both in municipal and international law. To municipal law belong the statutory or legal decisions taken by the competent authority in each state regarding the movement of capital and the financial control of exchanges. To international law belongs all the machinery required for the application of control systems such as compensation, clearing house and payment agreements, and the multilateral payments system. The author makes a special study of the machinery of bilateral agreements, and draws a distinction between the legal position of states contracting by virtue of a clearing house agreement and states contracting by virtue of a payments agreement. Bilateral agreements in any case appear to him a faulty solution and he therefore concludes with an analysis of the machinery of the European Payments Union, examining in turn its functions as clearing house, as a bank and finally as an administrative body endowed with its own treasury.

KINDELBERGER (Charles P.). *International Economics*. Howewood, R. D. Irwin, 1953, 543 p., 8vo, bibliography.

International economic relations depend to a large extent on the means and methods at the disposal of states for the financial control of exchanges. International economy has been characterized, since 1945, by the development of commercial currents regulated by artificial methods of payment, founded on the principle of assistance. The dollar deficit and the assistance programmes in the form of gifts or loans of dollars have thus constituted the financial framework of international trade. If the problem of the dollar shortage tends to be easier to solve, other problems, particularly the problem of raw materials, are becoming more acute. The author presents the problem as a whole, linking the supply and cost of raw materials with the growth of national income in underdeveloped countries. This economic expansion presupposes an increase in international investments, which are very inadequate in their total amount as compared, for instance, with internal investments in the United States of America. Despite the activities of international organizations, favourable conditions for the export of capital by wealthy countries have not arisen and investments abroad are totally inadequate to meet the needs of world economy. The only important movements of capital have come about as a result of official programmes and it seems that only the drawing-up of a long-term plan enables highly-industrialized countries to solve the problem of economic underdevelopment. The need for such a plan is evident; a theoretical study of economic relations between states shows that international exchanges cannot progress without a certain measure of thorough-going industrial equipment and unless adequate means of transport are placed at the disposal of countries with a purely agricultural economy. But the establishment of this basis calls for resources beyond the scope of private enterprise.

III. NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

A MEETING OF EXPERTS ON SOCIAL SCIENCE TERMINOLOGY

Paris, 5-7 May 1954

The committee of experts convened by Unesco was attended by the following persons:
Experts. Professor M. Ginsberg (Chairman) (United Kingdom), Director of the Sociology Department of the London School of Economics; Dr. Léo Moulin (Rapporteur) (Belgium), Member of the Economic Studies Service of the Caisse Générale d'Épargne et de Retraite, Belgium; Professor J. Haesaert (Belgium), Permanent Secretary of the Flemish Academy. Professor at the University of Ghent; Professor H. Janne (Belgium), Director of the Solvay Institute of Sociology. Professor at the University of Brussels; Professor G. Heckscher (Sweden), of the Svenska Institute Stockholm; Professor B. Wootton (United Kingdom), Department of Social Studies, Bedford College, University of London; Mr. Paul Vincent (France), Institut National d'Études démographiques, Paris; Professor R. Schaeder (Germany), of the University of Göttingen; Mr. Marcel Prélot (France), Chairman of the Commission du Suffrage Universel, Chamber of Deputies. Formerly Rector of the University of Strasbourg, Paris; Professor W. Ogburn (United States of America), Emeritus Professor of the University of Chicago. Professor at Nuffield College, Oxford; Dr. Raif Bellama (Lebanon), Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League.

Observers. Mrs. S. Forgues, United Nations; Mr. M. Ezekiel, Food and Agriculture Organization; Mrs. D. Lecoutre, Organization for European Economic Co-operation; Mrs. H. Berger-Lieser, International Economic Association; Mr. S. Hurtig, International Political Science Association; Professor C. Lévi-Strauss, International Social Science Committee; Professor A. Bertrand, International Committee of Comparative Law; Mr. E. de Dampierre, Centre d'Études Sociologiques.

Members of the Unesco Secretariat. *Department of Social Sciences:* Mrs. A. Myrdal, Mr. G. de Lacharrière, Dr. O. Klineberg, Dr. K. Szczerba-Likiernik, Dr. S. Friedman, Mr. P. Lengyel. *Department of Natural Sciences:* Dr. J. Holmstrom.

The discussion was opened by Mrs. A. Myrdal, Director of the Social Sciences Department, who explained the usefulness and need of a glossary for the social sciences and the difficulties involved in its compilation.

On the proposal of Professor Haesaert, Professor Ginsberg was elected chairman of the committee. Dr. Moulin was appointed rapporteur-général.

The following facts and conclusions emerged from the three days' discussions:

1. The principle of the usefulness and urgent need of a dictionary of social sciences and of a multilingual lexicon for the social sciences was taken for granted from the outset, and was not challenged.

All speakers agreed with the chairman in emphasizing that difficulties arose, not only in the translation of terms from one language with a rich vocabulary into another equally well-equipped language, but first of all within each individual language and each particular subject.

2. After exchanges of views, the committee supported the opinion of Professors Haesaert and Bertrand that, however urgent the need for a glossary or multilingual lexicon of the type advocated by Mrs. Forgues and Mrs. Berger-Lieser, social science terminology in all the so-called well-equipped languages was still too vague for it to be possible to compile a lexicon which, to use Professor Bertrand's own words,

could at the present stage be no more than a 'series of approximations in a sea of obscurity'.

Priority was accordingly given to the compilation of a social sciences vocabulary in two well-equipped languages.

3. The committee further thought that, despite the very real difficulties involved, it would be possible to compile, for the social sciences, a work on much the same lines as those successfully produced for subjects giving rise to similar problems, such as philosophy, psychology, political economy, etc.
4. Of the various possible types of vocabulary (encyclopaedia of social sciences similar to the Handwörterbuch now being published under Dr. Schaeder's guidance; a social sciences vocabulary, Lalande type; a general glossary, with translations and equivalences; or a practical multilingual lexicon, with translations of the terms most frequently used by a college of translators), the committee decided in favour of the Lalande type of vocabulary, as it would be best adapted to the spirit of Unesco's decisions; the resources of the various national groups concerned with terminology problems; the methodological requirements of this type of work.

However, it recommended that social scientists be asked to examine, as soon as possible, the translations proposed in Unesco's terminology index cards, from the scientific and linguistic standpoints alike.

5. After thorough discussion, the committee decided against Mr. Vincent's proposal for a dictionary of social sciences on the same lines as he had proposed for his dictionary of demography, i.e. in the form of a statement endeavouring to include all technical words and expressions, set out in a logical sequence, indexed in accordance with the universal decimal system (a proposal supported by Dr. Holmstrom) and serving as a basis for each individual language.

The committee thought it impossible to prepare such a basic statement, as social science terminology was still too imprecise and the various schools held radically different views as to theory. However, it was of opinion that Mr. Vincent's experiment was so ingenious and valuable as to make it worth while bearing its principles in mind and taking them as a guide, so far as possible, once the first draft of the social sciences vocabulary had been worked out.

6. The committee also adopted Professor Ginsberg's proposal that leading experts should first prepare special articles clarifying some of the basic terms used in the social sciences, and that these articles should be published as contributions to an open forum in the *International Social Science Bulletin*.

On the suggestion of Messrs. Ginsberg, Janne and Heckscher, it was further requested that specialists in the various social and natural sciences should subsequently be convened to international round-table discussions or symposia for the purpose of drawing up final definitions of these particularly complex concepts.

7. As for the guiding principles for the preparation of definitions, the committee, after hearing the views of Messrs. Ginsberg, Haesaert, Janne, Bertrand and Prélét, decided in favour of the so-called Moulin-Prélét type of definition, giving: (a) etymology; (b) the generally accepted meaning, in the form of a concise definition, as neutral and objective as possible, along the lines proposed by Dr. Szczerba; (c) if possible, the most commonly accepted scientific meaning, and any *standardized* meanings proposed by national working parties on terminology (accompanied by a diacritical mark, such as an asterisk); (d) if appropriate, the original, historical meaning; (e) the variations of meaning in the different disciplines; (g) the special meanings used by the main scientific schools of thought; (h) controversial and biased meanings, confused and imprecise uses of terms, etc., to be emphasized by the use of a diacritical mark (e.g. *A*); (i) related or similar terms, synonyms and antonyms.

The committee also approved the principle of using quotations (extracts from deceased authors) for the purpose of (a) placing the various meanings in their proper historical and social setting; (b) excluding all meanings proposed merely from bias in favour of a particular school of thought or excessive concern for uniformity; (c) helping the linguists and translators responsible for the preparation of the multilingual lexicon.

8. It was agreed that the only way of assessing, without undue delay, the possibilities and scientific value of the proposed method of work would be to conduct a pilot survey of 150 to 200 terms. The results of this experiment—which would be carefully prepared and carried out—would show whether the project should be extended to all branches of social science and to languages other than those originally selected.
9. In the committee's opinion, the list of terms to be defined should: (a) comprise general terms common to all branches of social science, more concrete terms peculiar to a given branch, and terms connected with the techniques and methods used by the discipline in question; (b) reflect the constant and ever-increasing inter-penetration of the various branches of social science; (c) be calculated to avoid any discussion, at this stage, as to whether any particular auxiliary or related discipline came under the heading of social science, and as to the boundaries between the various social sciences; (d) enlist the interest of the greatest possible number of social scientists in the project; (e) meet the most urgent needs of the international organizations concerned and of translators for whom it was extremely difficult to find exact equivalents for certain over-technical or over-general terms (Mrs. Myrdal's suggestion).

Professor Janne supported Mrs. Myrdal's views and suggested that those various requirements could best be met by taking, as the central theme for discussion, the consequences of technological change and its effects on social institutions.

Dr. Szcerba pointed out that that proposal had the advantage of covering a subject which had already been taken up by Unesco in at least two of its publications (*Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* in the *Tensions and Technology* series, and in *International Social Science Bulletin*, vol. V, no. 2, special number dealing with the social implications of technical change); as those publications had been translated, problems concerning the compilation of the multilingual lexicon could be discussed without delay. The theme proposed by Professor Janne was accordingly adopted by the committee, which requested the Department of Social Sciences to draw up a list of terms for submission to national working parties.

Various experts (Professors B. Wootton, Ogburn, Ginsberg, etc.) urged that this list should not contain too many very general terms which it was practically impossible to define because the specialized, technical terminology of the various branches of social science was still too imprecise. With that view the committee concurred. It was also agreed that, even as early as the pilot-survey stage, the dictionary should be planned not for the 'producers' of the social sciences, but in the interests of likely users or 'consumers', many of whom were not social scientists (e.g. students, journalists, specialists in other branches of study, translators, and persons or groups embarking for the first time on active political life, etc.).

10. The question of languages also gave rise to discussion between Messrs. Szcerba, Schaeder, Ezekiel and Heckscher. The committee noted that Italian, Spanish and Scandinavian groups had already showed real interest in the proposed social sciences vocabulary. It also welcomed the offer of assistance made by Dr. Schaeder, who was assuming responsibility for the publication of the *Handwörterbuch der Sozialwissenschaften* (shortly to be translated into Spanish).

However, the secretariat's resources did not permit it to carry out the pilot survey in more than the two working languages of Unesco—English and French—and possibly Spanish as a third priority, it being understood that the results of this work would be made available as soon as possible to the other linguistic groups, so that multilingual lexicons might be compiled as speedily as possible.

11. As for the question of relations between the working parties (involving, for the English language, at least British and American experts and for the French language, French, Belgian, Swiss and Canadian experts), it was decided, at Professor Haesaert's suggestion, that each of the language groups (English and French) and sub-groups (French, Belgian, Swiss and Canadian for French, and British and American for English) should be allowed the greatest possible independence. Unesco would be responsible for centralizing and disseminating the work of the various national working parties on terminology. Regular meetings of the

representatives of these various working parties would ensure: uniformity of working methods; exchange of experience; a uniform solution for the problems raised.

12. As for the method of working, Dr. Szczerba summed up the various stages as follows: (a) preparation by the rapporteur-general of the report setting forth the decisions taken by the Committee of Experts on Social Science Terminology at its meeting of 5, 6, 7 May; (b) circulation of the report by the secretariat among national and international scientific associations, colleges and academies, universities, etc.; its publication in specialist reviews; and its submission to the various national and international social science congresses; (c) preparation of precise instructions concerning terminology, for submission to the different working parties concerned; (d) drawing up of final plans for the guidance of national working parties during the pilot survey; (e) definition of the 150-200 words chosen for the pilot survey, on the basis of the instructions concerning terminology. This work should be completed by the end of 1955 at the latest, for both English and French, and would then be submitted forthwith to the competent national and international academic and scientific authorities.

In the light of the experience thus gained, it would then be possible to promote the compilation, in accordance with final plans jointly prepared, of social science dictionaries in the various 'well-equipped' languages, and simultaneously of a multilingual lexicon which would be as comprehensive as Unesco's resources and the various national working parties could make it.

THE FIRST ITALIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Milan 23 and 24 April 1954

This congress, jointly convened by the Organization for European Economic Co-operation and the recently created Italian Association for Political and Social Sciences, as its first public manifestation, had as its theme the problem of Europe.

In his opening remarks, the President of the Italian section of OEEC, Dr. Enrico Falck, outlined the objectives of the organization and the methods it was adopting towards the promotion of economic progress, stressing particularly the benefits already derived from the OEEC-sponsored European Payments Union and the advantages that would accrue to Italy from an integration of the Western European economy.

The contribution made by the comparatively new discipline of politics to the study of European problems was the subject of the introductory paper delivered by Professor F. Vito, President of the Italian Association for Political and Social Sciences. The emergence and rapid expansion of a scientific theory of the formation of political decisions had not really affected the fundamental and traditional methodology in this field, which consisted of a threefold approach, based on history, juridical and philosophic speculation, and empirical observation analogous to that employed in the physical sciences. Although in Italy a humanistic bias was still generally preferred in such studies, there was, as elsewhere, an increasing recognition of the encroachment of politics on all other social science disciplines and the necessity for greater interdisciplinary co-ordination.

The various plans for European unification—through federalism, monetary unity, customs union and so on—were based on the assumption that once certain underlying obstacles were removed the political and social life of the continent would integrate automatically. It was the object of the congress to examine the validity of this assump-

tion by considering first the historical, then the juridical, and finally the economic aspects of the problem.

A brief historical survey of the development of a European consciousness was provided by Professor F. Collotti. It was Machiavelli who first distinguished the characteristically European from the Asian, but the concept had developed chiefly since the eighteenth century, through Montesquieu, Filangeri and nineteenth century liberalism and romanticism. The cross-currents of nationalism and the doctrine of the balance of power tended to obscure the drive towards a United States of Europe—an idea which was first mooted—somewhat inauspiciously—by Cattaneo, in conflict with Metternich and his equilibrium policy, but which was now recognized as one of several possible solutions.

The cause of the present European crisis, moreover, was the gradual diminution of the size and status of Europe in the world. This was due to the rise of America, on the one hand, and the formation of two peripheral breakaway empires—the British and the Russian—on the other. This development made the time-honoured balance of power solution inapplicable, and a new formula would have to be sought if Europe was to carry any weight in world affairs. It was the existence of a European spirit that provided some hope for emergence from the current crisis.

Professor G. Maranini pointed out that the nineteenth century, which saw the development of communications and transport, the expansion of European colonies overseas, European control of sea-lanes, markets and industrial power, was pre-eminently a century of European ascendancy. Despite internal tendencies towards particularism, a unity was being forged. After the two world wars, however, no single European nation remained completely in control of its own destiny, and it was only through a federation that the different countries could regain their sovereignty and dignity. In states based both on individual guarantees and on popular sovereignty there was an inherent contradiction which was to some extent resolved by the balancing forces which developed inside the liberal state. Since the perversion of the liberal ideal by state encroachment, and the development of cartels and other organized vested interests including political parties, the inadequacy of the old state under new circumstances had become obvious. Federalism, if it came, would have to be accompanied by a return to liberalism. It could not be accomplished without a considerable disruption of established interests. Until now, the latter had been able to frustrate all attempts that were not to their advantage, such as Fritalux, yet every day of disunity cost Europe dear.

An amplification of the review of historical forces and individual thinkers who forged a 'concept of Europe' was provided by Professor Ciasca's paper. As unifying forces he mentioned the Roman administration, Charlemagne, the Holy Roman Empire and the medieval synthesis. The wars of religion, the Reformation and the rise of national ambitions tended to destroy this trend, but there were always a few figures who kept the larger vision alive. Such, for example, were Erasmus, the first writer to condemn war; Henry IV's minister, Sully, who promoted a lasting peace based on a 'Christian republic'; Leibniz; the Abbé Saint Pierre; Immanuel Kant and the eighteenth century philosophers, particularly Montesquieu, Voltaire and Burke. Later, the doctrine of a balance of power and English influence on the Continent tended to distort still further the spontaneous orientation of states—a trend arrested by the post-Napoleonic Concert of Europe, but revived in the later nineteenth century through the emergence of fresh, large national units, such as Italy and Germany. It was Machiavelli who defined Europe as a collection of individual states combining their several and separate virtues to produce a unique creative energy, the highest expression of which was the tradition of individual liberties—a valid conception to this day.

In the discussion that followed, Professor Valsecchi pointed out that the drive towards a united Europe arose from the destruction of national particularism and therefore did not have its roots in history, but rather ran counter to it.

In the second part of the congress, dealing with the juridical aspects of the European problem, only one paper was presented. Professor E. Crosa considered that the juridical problem of a European union lay in the limitation of sovereignty of the member states.

The idea of national sovereignty in its modern shape, a legacy of the French Revolution, was the transference of the older attributes of an absolute monarchy to the nation as a whole. Yet, in the modern state, sovereignty was limited internally by individual rights, just as before it was limited by democratic pressure, the social contract theory and the concept of natural law.

The definition of sovereignty must be circular: it was simply every juridical act performed by a state of its own free will within the bounds of its constitution, and it was, as such, perfectly consistent with an association of democratic states in a free union. Such a union did not, like a federal system, postulate an internal structure of all member states matching the federal structure, nor did it imply a renunciation of national liberties; it merely curtailed the power of states to act unilaterally on common problems.

The third part of the congress dealt with the economic aspects of the European problem. The ideal of a united market of 300 million consumers, which had often been put forward as a solution for Europe's economic ills, through the example of the United States of America, was neither easy to achieve nor necessarily the right answer. After 90 years of political unity, the economic problem of the 'depressed South' still existed in Italy, submitted Professor di Nardi: economics and politics did not always go hand in hand.

Before any kind of economic union could be inaugurated, several conditions had to be fulfilled. In the first place, there must be a single currency, or free currency convertibility. This, in turn, pre-supposed an equilibrium in the various national balances of payments, otherwise the economically weaker states would tend to fall under the domination of the stronger ones. There must also be a uniform fiscal policy, an internal monetary policy designed to curb inflationary pressure on prices, and public investment directed towards increased productivity. This problem was complicated by the peculiar situation of Great Britain and her membership of the sterling zone. A second condition for economic union was the abolition of all customs barriers, which could only be achieved very gradually. Other problems were those of a common policy on employment, trade cycles and public finance, as well as the free movement of labour and the equalization of social security facilities. A gradual approach, which would tackle the most pressing economic problems first, was the most hopeful.

Professor Feroldi listed three major pre-requisites for European economic unity: a supra-national political authority, an analogous economic authority that would leave member States only a limited amount of freedom of action in the economic sphere, and complete currency convertibility. At present, the two most powerful forces working against economic unity were the distortion of national economies through re-armament and the non-complementary nature of national economies. To counteract this, it was suggested that the criteria governing the supply of industrial products to non-European countries be reviewed and intra-European exchange be re-activated. When production was reorganized to provide for national specialization, while allowing for comparative costs, both competition and complementarity must be fostered simultaneously. A customs union was to be regarded as the ultimate goal, but convertibility could only accompany, not precede, such co-ordination.

Finally, there was a plea for the necessity of an amalgamation of European peoples, introduced by Professor I. M. Sacco. Switzerland, for example, unlike the U.S.A., was a state but not a nation, since its peoples did not really coalesce. At present there was a need for building labourers in France, for miners in England, but the exclusionist tactics of governments and trade unions made immigration practically impossible. No real European unity could be hoped for until there was a perfectly unhindered flow of people from country to country.

In closing the congress Dr. Falck expressed the hope that further attention would be devoted to the problem of Europe after the stimulating introduction just given, and stressed the importance, for Italy, of the development in particular of economic studies.

THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION'S ANNUAL MEETING

Florence, 5-10 April 1954

The International Political Science Association held its annual meeting at Florence from Monday 5 April to Saturday 10 April 1954. Supervision of the preliminary arrangements had been put in the hands of a committee consisting of Professor G. Maranini, President of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of Florence, Professor F. Vito, of the Italian Association of Political and Social Sciences and President of the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of the Sacred Heart at Milan, and Dr. A. Spreafico, a member of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of Florence. The proceedings comprised firstly a scientific round table and secondly an ordinary session of the Executive Committee.

Scientific Round Table

The theme selected for the round table was 'Teaching and Research in Comparative Government'. Professor W. A. Robson, President of IPSA, and Professor G. Heckscher, rapporteur-general, chose the following subjects for discussion: 1. nature, scope and purpose of the study of comparative government and politics; 2A. studies of particular areas: South Asia; 2B. studies of particular areas: Middle East; 3A. democratic control of foreign policy; 3B. political parties; 4A. contemporary revolutionary movements; 4B. parliamentary procedure; 5A. electoral systems and elections; 5B. nationalized industries; 6. methods of research; 7. methods of teaching.

The secretariat of IPSA received a total of 30 papers on the above subjects. Duplicated copies were distributed in advance to those attending—some 50 in number and representing 13 countries.

The opening meeting of the round table took place in the Dugento Room of the Palazzo della Signoria. Among those who attended and spoke were Professor La Pira, Mayor of Florence, Mr. C. Bruno, Prefect of Florence, Mr. Lamanna, Rector of the University, Professor W. A. Robson and Professor G. Maranini.

The round-table programme of discussions occupied a total of 12 meetings. The general report on the round table will be a considerable document, running to about a hundred printed pages; the task of writing it has been entrusted to Professor Heckscher.

It is proposed, in due course, to set up a working party, consisting of 12 to 15 experts, to pursue the roundtable's conclusions further; the first meeting would be likely to take place during the summer of 1955.

Session of the Executive Committee

The executive committee of IPSA held four meetings at Florence. The following members attended: Professor W. A. Robson, President of IPSA; Professors James K. Pollock, M. Duverger and G. Heckscher, Vice-Presidents; Professors B. Akzin, M. Bridel, D. N. Chester, A. M. Donner (replacing J. Barents), S. V. Kogekar, C. B. Macpherson and F. Vito. The Unesco Department of Social Sciences was represented by Mr. G. de Lacharrière, Deputy Director of the Department, and Dr. K. Szczerba-Likiernik, Head, Division of Aid to International Scientific Co-operation.

Among the main decisions taken by the executive committee are the following:

Stockholm congress: The Third International Congress of Political Science will take place at Stockholm between 21 and 27 August 1955. The following subjects have been put on its agenda: the government of large cities; studies relating to political parties (role of party systems in democracy, role of public opinion polls in the study of political

parties, relationship between social classes and political affiliations); political implications of development programmes; large and small states in the international system.

Research programme: The executive committee took note of the completion of the investigation into the political role of women (rapporteur-general: Professor M. Duverger, France) and into the problems regarding new states and international organizations (rapporteur-general: Professor B. Akzin, Israel). It further considered the investigation into local government in rural communities still proceeding under Professor H. Zink. Lastly, it drew up a programme for the development of political science, subject to adequate funds being secured.

Publications: The executive committee was informed of the conditions on which Unesco would undertake publication of Professor Robson's General Report on the Teaching of Political Science throughout the world and of the International Political Science Bibliography (whose first number, covering 1952, is scheduled for publication in 1954). The executive committee decided to continue publication of *International Political Science Abstracts* in conjunction with the International Committee for Social Science Documentation. It also decided to continue work on a volume presenting a comparative study of the main civil service systems of the world and on a special number of the *International Social Science Bulletin* devoted to a political science subject of general interest.

Expansion of IPSA: The executive committee adopted measures to expand the activities and influence of the association in all parts of the world, particularly in the countries of Latin America and Asia. It was decided to undertake a large-scale campaign to increase individual and group memberships.

Persons wishing to join the International Political Science Association as individual members should apply to the association's secretariat, 27 rue Saint-Guillaume, Paris (VII). The subscription is U.S. \$6, or the equivalent in other currencies (reduced to \$5 or the equivalent for members of any national political science association affiliated to IPSA). Individual members are entitled to the regular supply of the circular letter published quarterly by the association and of one of the two following publications: *International Social Science Bulletin*; *International Political Science Abstracts*.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION'S MEETINGS

Cologne, 10-12 June 1954

The Executive Committee and members of the Research Committee of the International Sociological Association met in Cologne from 10-12 June 1954. The meetings were held in the University of Cologne and were attended by: Dean G. Davy (University of Paris), Professors M. Ginsberg (London School of Economics), L. von Wiese (University of Cologne), Jessie Bernard (Pennsylvania State College), R. Clémens (University of Liège), P. de Bie (University of Louvain), A. N. J. den Hollander (University of Amsterdam), D. V. Glass (London School of Economics), R. Koenig (University of Cologne), H. Schelsky (University of Hamburg), T. Segerstedt (University of Uppsala), Dr. K. A. Busia (University College of the Gold Coast), Mr. Stein Rokkan (University of Oslo), and the Executive Secretary (T. B. Bottomore, London School of Economics) and the Assistant Secretary (Miss E. Adorno).

The executive committee reviewed the activities of the ISA since the Liège congress

and approved the annual report for the year 1953-54 which will be circulated to member associations and individual members. The committee also approved the plans for publishing, in October 1954, the *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology*. The executive secretary was further authorized to make preparations for the publication of an annual newsletter, containing reports on the activities of member associations and on important developments in international research and in the teaching of sociology. The newsletter will appear in the *International Social Science Bulletin* and will also be available in the form of offprints. It is hoped to produce the first issue in winter 1954.

The executive committee devoted considerable time to discussing plans for the Third World Congress of Sociology, to be held in 1956. The congress will be held in Amsterdam, from 22-29 August 1956. It will have as its central theme 'Problems of Social Change in the Twentieth Century', and will be organized in six sections: 1. an introductory symposium on the main factors in social change, and on law and morals in relation to social change; 2. changes in economic structure, particularly industrial organization and property relations; 3. changes in class structure; 4. changes in the family; 5. changes in education, particularly in the conditions of access to education and their relation to social mobility; 6. a concluding paper and discussion on the interrelations of these different types of change.

It was decided that one session of the congress should be reserved for a discussion of 'Sociology in 1956', organized in two sections, one concerned with the development of sociological research and the other with the teaching of sociology. On the basis of the experience at the Liège congress, the executive committee established a provisional timetable which will leave time available for informal discussion groups. The main papers of the congress will be by invitation, and they will be printed, and circulated to participants, in advance.

The executive committee also discussed plans for the organization of a round table on 'The middle classes in underdeveloped countries'. This will take place in the Middle East in the autumn of 1955 and will be organized by the ISA in collaboration with Unesco.

The executive secretary reported on the current activities of the ISA, and in particular on the development of *Current Sociology*, on the preparations for a symposium on social change in peasant communities, and on an evaluation of research into conflict and war which is being prepared for Unesco. Professor Ginsberg gave a report of the Unesco meeting of experts on the terminology of the social sciences and of the plans for a dictionary of basic terms.

The research committee members discussed the research programme of the ISA. They approved, and the executive committee confirmed, plans for the organization of a Third Working Conference on Social Stratification and Social Mobility, to be held in Amsterdam from 16-18 December 1954. This conference will assess completed research, consider the extension of research to new areas, and study means of presenting some preliminary cross-national comparisons. The research committee members went on to consider new research proposals, in particular a proposal submitted by Professor Segerstedt, Dr. Eisenstadt and Mr. Friis, for research in youth questions, especially the relation of youth activities and youth organizations to community participation. It was decided to invite a number of sociologists to discuss this question and make plans for cross-national research at the working conference to be held in December 1954. Finally the members discussed a proposal for inter-disciplinary research made by the International Social Science Council.

During their stay in Cologne the delegates visited the Unesco Institute for Social Science, where they heard an account of the institute's research from the director, Dr. Nels Anderson. They also met a number of German sociologists at a special meeting arranged by Professors von Wiese and Koenig. At the close of their meetings the delegates attended a reception and dinner generously given in their honour by the Oberbürgermeister of Cologne, Dr. Ernst Schwering.

ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCES IN THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands where religious differences, and differences in attitude toward life run deep, the need for contact between the various groups of the population is more keenly felt than elsewhere.

The Dutch people tend to imbue all phenomena of life with a more or less religious or philosophical setting. Consequently, corporations with a confessional bias have been called into being in practically every walk of life. This applies not only to political parties but also to social organizations, employers' associations, trade unions, broadcasting corporations, and even sports clubs, many if not most of them being divided into Protestant, Roman Catholic and neutral groups.

The existence of a certain antithesis between the various groups according to their religious or other convictions cannot be denied.

Only in the event of great national disasters, for instance the war of 1940-45 or the flood of 1953, are the differences momentarily forgotten, giving way to a powerful unity.

During the second world war, in the united struggle against oppression, all internal differences were laid aside, and many came to think that unity would henceforth prevail. The post-war situation, however, was a source of bitter disappointment. It soon became evident that the old antitheses were still there. They had only been inactive temporarily.

Yet there were some who during the war had learned something else. They had realized the need for better contact with other people and other groups in order to attain to a fuller knowledge and a more correct evaluation of the convictions of others.

From this need arose the initiative for that select human means of communication: a round-table discussion. Its vanguard was the well-known Professor Kohnstamm, who succeeded in bringing together various prominent persons of different convictions. Being a man of universal learning, he immediately placed this work on a scholarly level. Under his leadership an action committee issued a number of reports dealing with toleration and democracy, and ultimately instituted the Nederlands Gesprek Centrum (Netherlands Round-Table Conference). The NGC has this aim: 'The promotion of greater understanding of differing attitudes, so that points of similarity and difference may be more accurately assessed.'

The movement is governed by a curatorium consisting of 60 prominent citizens of the Netherlands of widely varying spiritual and political convictions. No significant segment of the population is excluded. There is an executive board composed of Professor Dr. J. H. Bavinck, chairman, and two presidents, Dr. J. C. H. H. de Vink and Dr. H. B. J. Waslander. On this board the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and humanist convictions are represented.

The movement has three levels of operation:

1. Committees of specialists, each consisting of approximately nine persons of divergent convictions who meet regularly for intensive discussion of a specific subject, and later issue a report upon it. Reports have already appeared on: work and property; ideals of education; the state and culture; centralization and decentralization; the political party and the parliamentary system; philosophy and faith; birth control. In preparation are about ten other reports on various subjects.

The value of these publications is that points of agreement and points of difference are always made clear. Instead of 'shadow-boxing' about purely incidental matters, they contain worthwhile exchanges of views on essentials.

2. National conferences. These are held three times a year. Usually about one hundred people of very divergent convictions assemble, all of them enthusiastic supporters of a round-table discussion at a high level.

As a rule members of the committees already mentioned, who specialize in a

certain subject, are seated on the platform and for about an hour develop a previously selected theme. The details of the discussion are improvised, but the committee comes carefully prepared as regards the main lines. After the platform debate the meeting breaks up into sections. At the close of the evening the section leaders report. The next morning the committee discusses this report on the platform, and a general discussion ensues.

The conferences attract great interest. They are considered special events in this land of antitheses.

3. Local and regional units in various places in the Netherlands. These units consist of from fifteen to twenty-five members of very divergent religious and political convictions, while at the same time an effort is made to achieve as wide a social representation as possible.

Once a month the participants come together to discuss a pre-announced subject.

Introductory and preliminary speeches are thus avoided.

The heart of the round-table work is to be found in these units.

Conclusion. The value of this round-table work is incalculable. Participants often belong to groups in which they hold prominent and strategic positions. Without a doubt the results have a far-reaching effect. In the press and in meetings many champion the cause of a better understanding of 'the other fellow'. Without claiming all this to be a result of the activity of the NGC, it is nevertheless certain that the discussions exert a powerful influence.

The personal contacts thus established may well be of more than national significance. For the time being, however, one should not look for spectacular successes: distrust which has grown during centuries of misapprehension and separation cannot be spirited away overnight. Yet any indication of restored good faith, any indication of better insight and understanding, should be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the peace of the world.

THE THIRD INTER-AMERICAN CONGRESS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

La Paz, 2-12 August 1954

The Organizing Committee of the Third Inter-American Congress on Indian Affairs, which met at La Paz (Bolivia) from 2 to 12 August 1954, decided, after much consideration, to propose a draft agenda containing relatively few items. This was done for two main reasons: (a) at the two previous congresses various items normally included in a full agenda had already been discussed, and the documents relating to these items have been published; (b) with a reduced agenda, the debates would be more concentrated and less diffuse. The items proposed for inclusion in the draft agenda of Third Inter-American Congress on Indian Affairs bear on important experiments carried out in Bolivia since 9 April 1952—reforms which have basically affected the country's Indian population: nationalization of mines, land reform, universal suffrage, educational reform, etc.

Several months ago, the Ministry of Rural Affairs enlisted the co-operation of more than 50 Bolivians specializing in the theoretical and practical aspects of the subjects mentioned above and also in other matters connected with the Bolivian Indians. The authors of monographs on the subject will attend the congress as rapporteurs of their own works, and will also be able, if opportunity arises, to circulate the documents they

have prepared. In any case, the Congress is always at liberty to add to the agenda, at its first sessions, any other topics it may consider worth discussing.

The proposed agenda is as follows: 1. geographical distribution of Indians in America; 2. demography of the present Indian population in America: statistics, ethnological and anthropological features, social psychology; 3. economic life of American Indians, general outline, special study of two questions: (a) agrarian reform, (b) Indians in the mining and petroleum industries; 4. sex life and family life of American Indians; 5. political, legal and military life of American Indians, general outline; special study of two questions: (a) universal suffrage for men and women, literate and illiterate, (b) possibility of legislation on an inter-American basis covering Indian affairs and the operation of special ministries of agriculture and rural affairs; 6. cultural life of American Indians, general characteristics, viewed from the following standpoints: religious, social, private and moral, linguistic, scientific, artistic, and educational; special study of three questions: (a) possibility of adopting a common phonetic alphabet for all American Indian languages, (b) utilization of Indian folklore for encouraging the arts, (c) experiments in and future outlook for rural education and the education of Indians in general.

NEWS FROM LATIN AMERICA¹

NEW PUBLICATION ON INDIAN STUDIES IN VENEZUELA

The first number has appeared of a new periodical, *Boletin Indigenista Venezolano*. The editorial board consists of Brother Cayetano de Carrocera, Eduardo Fleury Cuello and Walter Dupouy, and the publishers are the Commission for Indian Affairs, which is a technical and advisory body of the Ministry of Justice for the study of Indian questions. Address: Apartado 2059, Caracas, Venezuela.

The first number of the bulletin includes several important studies listed in the bibliographical register of 'Notas e informaciones de Ciencias Sociales'. All correspondence in connexion with *Boletin Indigenista Venezolano* should be addressed to Edificio 'Italo', 4º piso, Padre Sierra a Muñoz, Caracas, Venezuela.

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES IN PROGRESS

Charles E. Dibble is continuing his work on the direct translation of the Sahagun codices. Harry Tschopik Jr. and Raul de los Rios are collecting material for a study of the social anthropology of the Indians of the upper Amazon. Evon Z. Vogt has spent six months on research in Jalisco, Mexico. Gordon Willey is investigating Maya settlement patterns. David DeHarpont and William Bullard are also working in the Maya area. Incz Adams is investigating race and class as social criteria in ethnic communities in the larger West Indian islands and in Trinidad. Duncan Strong has concluded some months' research in the Ica-Nazca area of Southern Peru. Joseph A. Hester is continuing his research on aboriginal agriculture in Yucatan and British Honduras.

¹ Reprinted from *Ciencias Sociales*, a periodical published by the Department of Social Sciences of the Pan American Union.

TRAINING OF TECHNICIANS IN MEXICO

One of the major difficulties affecting programmes of aid to Indians in Mexico has been the lack of adequately trained technical personnel. To overcome it, the National Institute for Indian Affairs and the National School of Anthropology have recently developed a specialized social anthropology degree course. The academic studies in this branch are supplemented by lectures from the directing staff of the Co-ordinating Centres for Indian Affairs operating in Chiapas, Mezquital, Papaloapan and Tarahumara. The most recent speakers have been Messrs. Pozas, de la Fuente, Marroquin, Monzon and Aguirre Beltran, their subjects being respectively: fundamental education for the Tzotzil-Tzeltals; action programmes of the co-ordinating centres; economy of the Tlaxiaco market; theoretical premises of applied anthropology; medicine and hygiene in Indian communities.

FIRST SOCIOLOGY CONGRESS IN PARANA

The First Sociology Congress in Parana, Brazil, organized by the Faculty of Philosophy, Science and Letters of the University of Parana and promoted by the Brazilian Sociological Society, took place between 15 and 22 January 1954. The members of the organizing committee of the congress were Euclides de Mesquita (chairman), Antonio Rubbo Muller and Gabriel Munhoz da Racha (vice-chairmen), Albano Woiski (secretary-general), Irmao Raul and Clemente and Olga Mattar (secretaries), Liguarudo Espirito Santo (treasurer), and Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, Donald Pierson, Roger Bastide, Odorico Pires Pinto, Brasil Pinheiro Machado, Guerreiro Ramos, Pinto Ferreira and Antonio Mello Figueiredo (members).

INTER-AMERICAN STATISTICAL INSTITUTE

Enquiries have frequently reached the Social Science Bureau of the Pan American Union about statistical studies in Latin America and the most accessible sources of such data. The bureau accordingly wishes to make it known that an Inter-American Statistical Institute has been in operation since 1940 as a technical appendage of the Organization of American States, with headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Among other publications, the institute issues a quarterly journal, *Estadistica*, containing matter of great value to social investigators.

All correspondence relating to this specialized field should be addressed to the Secretary of the Inter-American Statistical Institute, Pan American Union, Washington, 6, D.C., United States of America.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES OF VENEZUELA AND WISCONSIN

The Central University of Venezuela, in Caracas, has entered into a 10-year agreement with the University of Wisconsin, United States of America, for 'intellectual co-operation'. The agreement is designed to solve a number of problems arising from the expansion and modernization of the University of Venezuela.

The University of Wisconsin will annually provide an agreed number of professors and assistant professors of subjects which the University of Venezuela is particularly anxious to develop. All those selected will of course need to have a good knowledge of Spanish. For the moment the programme is concentrated on the social sciences, agriculture, education and medicine. Concurrently, Venezuelan students will be sent abroad for specialized courses.

The programme is being carried out under the supervision of Messrs. Emilio Esposito Jimenez, Secretary of the University of Venezuela, Homer J. Herriott, Dean of the University of Wisconsin, and George W. Hill, responsible for co-ordination.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN VENEZUELA

The Institute of Psychosynthesis and Human Relations, established in January 1952 at the University of Los Andes, Mérida, Venezuela, is now operating fully. The institute, which undertakes ordinary teaching activities, has over a hundred students. Instruction is not confined to the various branches of psychology, but includes sociological studies proper.

The director of the institute is Dr. Oliver Brachfeld, a native of Hungary who graduated at the Sorbonne and was formerly a professor in Spain. Brachfeld is a direct follower of Alfred Adler and is the author of various works published in Spanish and English.

NEW PUBLICATION IN TRUJILLO, PERU

The Archeological Museum of the University of Trujillo, Peru, has begun the publication of *Chimor*, a review specializing in anthropological subjects, and especially archeology. Correspondence should be sent to the Director of the Archeological Museum, National University of Trujillo, Peru, Box 110.

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN ARGENTINA

Under the auspices of the Catholic Culture Courses a new school of social sciences has been opened in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The school offers a four-year specialist course, with classes in sociology, psychology, history, political and economic sciences, and theology. Dr José Miguens is one of the professors. The address of the school is 1227, Rio Bamba, Buenos Aires.

FOUNDATION FOR SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS IN BAHIA, BRAZIL

This important institution has pursued its programme of social investigations in close co-operation with Columbia University in the United States. A monograph on the cacao area is now being prepared. Dr. Marvin Harris has handed in the manuscript of his studies in the 'sertao' area. Dr. H. Hutchinson and Dr. Rollie Poppino have finished their reports on a Reconcavo Asucareran community and on the economic and social history of the 'Feria de Santana'.

Moreover, Professor Wagley and Professor Harris, under the auspices of Columbia University and the National Research Council of the United States, are in Brazil preparing a work on anthropological method based on the experience of studying Brazilian communities, especially those investigated under the joint State of Bahia-Columbia University programme.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE UNITED STATES ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

In December 1953 the United States Anthropological Society held its annual meeting in Tucson, Arizona. Among the works submitted which are connected with Latin America were, 'The role of social perception in rural urban change in Brazil' (Bernard Siegel); 'Culture change in San Miguel Acatan, Guatemala, 1938-1953' (Morris Siegel); 'The criollo outlook in the mestizo culture of Lima, Peru' (Ozzie G. Simons); 'On the survival of certain aboriginal American groups, Venezuela' (Thomas McCorkle); 'Seriation problems in the moche ceramic style sequence' (Dwight T. Wallace); 'A prehistoric Maya hamlet near El Cayo, British Honduras' (Gordon R. Willey and W. R. Bullard); 'Cultural significance of changes in ceremonial vessels, southern Maya area' (Stephan E. de Borhegyi); 'Ethno-history of the Seri Indians,

1890-1953' (William Neil Smith); 'Some new concepts regarding the cliff dwellings of N. Chihuahua and N. E. Sonora' (Robert H. Lister); 'Ancient populations of Southern Baja California' (T. D. McCown).

SYMPOSIUM ON IRRIGATION CIVILIZATIONS

In Tucson, Arizona, simultaneously with the annual meeting of the United States Anthropological Society, a symposium was held on the subject, 'A comparison of the early irrigation civilizations'. It was arranged by Julian H. Steward, and the meetings were presided over by Gordon Willey. The works serving as a basis for discussion related to China (Karl Wittfogel), Peru (Donald Collier), the Near East (Robert Adams) and Mexico (Pedro Armillas). Ralph Belas and Angel Palerm had been asked to take part. The materials for discussion and the report of the discussion itself will be published in a special edition in English and in Spanish.

BOOKS RECEIVED¹

ASBECK VAN, F. M., *Leaps and approaches towards self-government in British Africa*, Weesp, Netherlands, Greenwood Press, 32 p.

BARCLAY, G. W., *A report on Taiwan's population to the joint commission on rural reconstruction*, with a preface by Frank W. Notestein, Office of Population Research, Princeton University, xii + 120 p.

BELILOS, L., *Les Financiers devant les Juges*, Editions Ledis, Paris, 1954, 182 p.

BOCK, E. A., *Fifty years of technical assistance*, with a preface by Herbert Emmerich, Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago, 1954, x + 65 p.

Chapters in western civilization, volume I, 2nd edition, collected texts edited by the Contemporary Civilization Staff of Columbia College, Columbia University, Columbia University Press, New York, 1954, 545 p.

Civil-military relations, an annotated bibliography 1940-1952, edited by the Committee on Civil-military Relations Research of the Social Science Research Council, with a preface by William T. R. Fox, Columbia University Press, New York, 1954, x + 140 p.

COMAS, J., *Los Congresos Internacionales de Americanistas*, Síntesis Historica e Índice Bibliográfico General 1875-1952, Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Mexico, D.F., 1954, lxxxiii + 224 p.

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DESCHAMPS, H., *Les Religions de l'Afrique Noire*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1954, 128 p.

ELIAS, T. O., *Groundwork of Nigerian Law*, with a preface by John Verity, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1954, xxx + 374 p.

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¹ All books and periodicals addressed to the Editor of the *International Social Science Bulletin* are added to Unesco library.

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HANRAHAN, G. Z., *The communist struggle in Malaya*, with a preface by V. Purcell, International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1954, 146 p.

KARVE, I., *Kinship organization in India*, Deccan College Monograph Series, Poona, 1953, viii + 304 p.

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MAULDIN, W. P., AKERS, D. S., *The population of Poland (International Population Statistics Reports*, series P-90, no. 4), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1954, vi + 198 p.

MURDOCK, G. P., FORD, C. S., HUDSON, A. E., KENNEDY, R., SIMMONS, L. W., WHITING, J. W. M., *Guia para la Clasificación de los datos culturales*, Spanish version prepared by the Instituto Indigenista Nacional de Guatemala and the Social Science Section of the Panamerican Union, Washington, D.C., 1954, 248 p.

NORBECK, E., *Takashima, a Japanese fishing community*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 1954, 232 p.

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PALMER, G. L., BRAINERD, C. P., *Labor mobility in six cities, a report on the survey of patterns and factors in labor mobility, 1940-1950*, with a preface by Paul Webbink, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1954, xiv + 177 p.

PORTILLA, M. L., *Indices de América Indígena y Boletín Indigenista*, vols. I-XIII (1941-53), Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Mexico, D.F., 1954, 196 p.

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SKINNER-KLEE, J., *Legislación Indigenista de Guatemala*, Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Mexico, D.F., 1954, 135 p.

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Studies in Islamic cultural history, edited by G. E. von Grunebaum, with a preface by Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, the American Anthropological Association, Publishing Company, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1954, xi + 60 p.

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IV. OPEN FORUM

PERSONALITY DYNAMICS AND THE TENDENCY TOWARDS STEREOTYPY¹

R. GORDON

It is the object of this paper to report and to discuss an investigation concerning the possible relationship between the structure and dynamics of personality and the tendency to form and hold stereotyped ideas and attitudes. As a working definition I have regarded as 'stereotyped mental constructs' those images, concepts, beliefs and attitudes which are essentially rigid and change-resistant, and which tend to represent the facts with which they are concerned in an oversimplified form. These 'stereotyped mental constructs' are here distinguished from what has been described as 'stereotypes', and which have here been regarded as consisting of those images, concepts and attitudes possessed and accepted as more or less true by the majority of the members of a social group; an individual can therefore be said to possess them only in so far as he shares in the social myths of his group. In both instances 'stereotype' refers to such characteristics as persistence, repetition and invariability of mental construct; but in the case of 'stereotypes' it is a question of the spread and distribution of a concept over a multiplicity of 'human units', while in the case of 'stereotyped mental constructs' the spread and distribution of a concept over a multiplicity of time units is in question.

The genesis of 'stereotypes' in the individual is likely to differ from the genesis of personal 'stereotyped mental constructs', the former being predominantly a function of the relationship of the individual to his group, while the latter result from the inter-relationship of objects and forces inside the individual. It is true that where society offers a variety of constructs and ideologies, as is the case in modern society, the stereotypes possessed by an individual may, in fact, reflect his personality and its needs and problems. However, even here the contribution of personality factors is likely to be less important than in the case of personal constructs, for the acceptance of a ready-made cognitive pattern involves less self-expression than does the creation of a new one; furthermore the acceptance of a stereotype is likely to satisfy an individual's need for integration into a social group apart from any intrapersonal needs that it might serve.

I am fully aware that the dichotomy between private and social stereotypes is only an ideal division so as to make analysis more poignant, but it seemed necessary to make it, and the present investigation has been concerned exclusively with the problem of stereotypy and stereotyped mental constructs.

¹ On this subject, see, 'National Stereotypes and International Understanding', a special number of this Bulletin, vol. III, no. 3.

THE PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES CONCERNING IT

The train of reasoning which led me to search within the conative and affective layers of the personality for some of the principal factors causing stereotypy of cognitive processes might be summarized as follows:

Primarily cognition serves the function of informing the organism of the nature and character of its external and internal environment and of organizing the discreet impressions so as to facilitate a certain degree of coherent reactivity. Conceptualizations should be as true to reality as is possible, if cognition is to serve its function. Since facts, events, and our human knowledge about them are in a continuous flux, those conceptualizations, which are in their very nature rigid and immobile, are doomed, sooner or later, to fall short of the function they should above all fulfil. In order to explain their presence one might suggest that they subserve a purpose other than the adaptation of the individual to his environment. Since individuals have to find solutions to two main conflict situations—the conflicts between their own needs and demands as against the exigencies of the external world and the conflicts which are played out intrapsychically between their various and often opposing needs and emotions—one might assume that the function of stereotyped mental constructs is essentially concerned with the working out of the second type of conflict.

The actual manner in which they serve the individual to assuage the intrapsychic conflicts might be conceived as taking on three main forms. First, they may help to preserve a psychological equilibrium in cases where the balance of mental forces is so precarious that exposure to the impact of the changes and oscillations even of everyday life would endanger the total personality structure. Secondly, any particular stereotyped construct may exist as a result of a process of projection, designed to protect its owner against the awareness of impulses, desires and phantasies within him which may be regarded by one of his mental institutions, such as, for example, the ego or the super-ego, as repellent and distasteful. Finally the stereotyped mental content may be felt as in itself pleasureable and enjoyable, because it satisfies, though more or less vicariously, some need or needs which have had to remain unsatisfied.

Thus the tendency to possess stereotyped mental concepts can be regarded as symptomatic of neuroticism, since it involves a lack of ability to carry out the primary function of cognition, and since furthermore it involves that "curtailment of the freedom and flexibility of the ego" which Otto Fenichel has described as characteristic of a psychopathological condition. However, stereotypy of mental concepts is likely to be only one of several alternative methods with which an individual can fight off intrapsychic tension and imbalance and, hence, the absence of stereotypy does not necessarily prove the existence of mental health.

PROCEDURE AND TESTS USED

In order to throw some light upon these various problems, an experiment was carried out in which 30 adult education students were given: the Murray Thematic Apperception Test; a specially constructed belief test.

The results obtained were then carefully analysed and compared.

The Murray T.A.T. was interpreted on the third, that is the unconscious, level, according to psychoanalytical concepts, in an attempt to uncover the subjects' primary reaction patterns. The records were also dealt with on the second level—as defined by Murray—with the object of obtaining information regarding the subjects' character traits or, as they may be described, the secondary and derived reaction patterns. In this second analysis special attention was paid to four traits which appeared to be of particular relevance to stereotypy: the tendency to project; the tendency to be extrapunitive; the degree of aggressivity; the degree of a general sense of security or insecurity.

As a check a colleague carried out an independent analysis of the T.A.T. records and results were then compared.

The belief test had been constructed in order to sample the nature of the beliefs adopted by any particular subject concerning a number of different topics. Questions were asked about the race problem, economic crises, women, nations, social classes, etc. In constructing this test a compromise was attempted between the two opposing qualifications which such a test should satisfy: that it be objective and easily scoreable, and that it also give as true a picture as possible of the diverse attitudes possessed by different individuals. Therefore a choice of answers to each question was presented, the subject being required to tick the one that most nearly corresponded to his own views. There was one blank in the list of answers to each question which the subject could use if none of the listed answers seemed to suit his case. Each of the 10 main questions was divided into four sections:

The first was designed to give an impression of the nature and form of the opinion held. In the second it was hoped to learn something about the reasons which had led to the formation of the particular opinion. The third was concerned with the age of the opinion. The fourth, however, was constructed so as to constitute a special method to assess the degree of conviction and emotionalism present as a constituent of any belief. This last section, therefore, consisted of a provocative answer to the test question to which again a number of reactions were offered to the subject. This section was considered to be of especial importance and the results have indicated that any discrepancy between the scores obtained from the first and the fourth sections is significant.

To deal with the results, a scoring key had to be devised. For this purpose four judges were asked to rate each question on a five-point scale, a score of one indicating low stereotyping. Three criteria for the existence of stereotypy were given to guide the judges: personification; over-simplification; emotionality.

Thus, for each subject, a total 'stereotypy score' could be calculated, as well as a score for 'stereotypy' shown in response to all the first sections of the 10 questions and a separate 'stereotypy' score for responses to all the fourth sections of the 10 questions.

RESULTS

The principal results obtained from this investigation can be summarized as follows:

1. It was shown that the tendency to possess stereotyped mental constructs was frequently accompanied by the continued presence of unsolved Oedipus conflicts—10 out of the 14 subjects with high stereotypy scores

being over-concerned with that primary 'three-body relationship'; the basic problems of low stereotypers on the other hand were usually concerned with the conflict between libidinal and super-ego strivings.

2. A high stereotypy score was found to be most decidedly associated with the presence of marked aggressive tendencies and with the predominance of projection as a principal defence mechanism. The relationship between stereotypy and extra-punitiveness and a sense of security or insecurity was not quite so marked.
3. A correlation was found to exist between the general belief pattern of a person and the central theme of his basic conflicts. Thus subjects with unsolved Oedipus conflicts tended to over-emphasize differences and conflicts in social life; people who phantasied an identification with the parent of the opposite sex tended to underemphasize differences in social life, while 'Socialists' were preoccupied in their phantasy with the problem of property and its acquisition.
4. A small difference was found to exist between high and low stereotypers on the basis of the reasons they cited as responsible for their beliefs; high stereotypers tending in general to give a slightly greater number of reasons; low stereotypers, very much more frequently than high stereotypers cited personal contact, events in their lives and study as responsible for their views.
5. High and low stereotypers could not be distinguished by the age of their concepts and beliefs, although they differed in their ability to provide information about this; high stereotypers seemed to find it much more difficult to determine the approximate date when their beliefs developed.
6. No generalized spread of stereotypy over the whole attitude system of a person could be found in this study.

DISCUSSION AND AN ATTEMPTED EXPLANATION OF THE RESULTS

The interrelationship of basic personality problems and the tendency to develop stereotyped attitudes appears to be the most important result obtained in this investigation; the underlying reason for this association can only be guessed at at this stage.

Thus the Oedipus situation, it might be postulated, is the earliest 'social' situation, being the first three-body relationship of which the child is aware; henceforward the question which guided his actions and reactions 'Will I or won't I be attended to and satisfied?' becomes elaborated and complicated into the question 'Who shall satisfy whom and at whose expense?' Also it is in the Oedipus stage that the child experiences very strong feelings—aggression, jealousy, envy and hatred as well as love—and he is thus tempted, for intellectual as well as emotional reasons, to project these affects on to people and events in the world outside him; he will then be led to conceive of life as one great struggle between rivals. A person is likely to continue to view social life under this aggressive and disruptive aspect if he has remained fixated at that particular level. One may expect that the affects are then even more turbulent and violent than is usual in the normal child, for their persistence in an adult betrays that in his case the situation, either for external or internal reasons, has been particularly intense and unfavourable to any resolution of the conflict.

The conflict of low stereotypers, it had been found, was one which raged above all between the various mental institutions, such as the super-ego and the id. But the development of a functioning super-ego requires, amongst other factors, the prevalence of identification and introjection techniques, and hence our further result, showing that high stereotypers possess considerably greater projective tendencies and outwardly directed aggressivity than do low stereotypers, may be an additional and independent corroboration of the principal conclusions.

If one recalls Freud's theory that 'the person with a neurotic disposition has left nearly all his forces at the Oedipus complex', and if one further assumes with Otto Fenichel that neurotic characters are 'not only fixated to certain levels of instinctual demand but also to certain mechanisms of defence', and that they 'respond more or less rigidly with the same reaction pattern', then it seems plausible to suggest that stereotypy is often associated with neuroticism, for the neurotic is likely to spread his rigidity over thought and conceptualization processes as well as over his affective life and behaviour.

Carrying our speculations a step further and remembering that anxiety is one of the most dominant features of neurosis, we might also postulate that stereotypy appears in response to and as a defence against anxiety, when this anxiety has its focus in the relationship between an individual and his society, and when his principal defence mechanism is projection. Where the locus of anxiety is intra-personal, as for instance in the group of subjects whose primary psychic theme concerned itself with the problem of guilt and the control of repudiated wishes and desires, then other defence mechanisms are likely to be employed.

VALUE AND FUNCTION OF STEREOTYPY

Stereotypy, therefore, can be considered as an analgesic devised by the mind to protect itself against anxiety, that is pain. Yet, from the biological point of view, pain must be regarded as a useful danger signal which informs the organism of any disharmony that might exist in its external or internal environment. Hence, it may be more beneficial if man can accept and tolerate a certain amount of pain rather than be over-concerned with the search for protective techniques.

It may be that a certain degree of stereotypy is necessary for effective living and for the maintenance of social cohesion. Nevertheless excessive rigidity is likely to lead to ultimate stunting, degeneration and the extinction of both an individual or a social group—much as specialization has often done in the course of evolution.

POSSIBLE METHODS OF CONTROLLING THE DEVELOPMENT OF STEREOTYPY

The remedy against the encroachment of a process of stereotyping in the case of individuals, it may be suggested, might be sought in the following conditions:

1. A minimizing of social stress and unrest, so as to avoid rousing excessive anxiety and thereby the temptation to turn to stereotypy as a method of defence.

2. An education system and a family background which facilitates the personality development to such a point that there is an ego sufficiently secure to tolerate a certain amount of anxiety.
3. The inculcation of a desire for truth and accurate information, however painful it may be and however much it may upset any practical considerations, social allegiances or pet myths.

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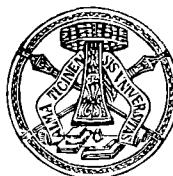
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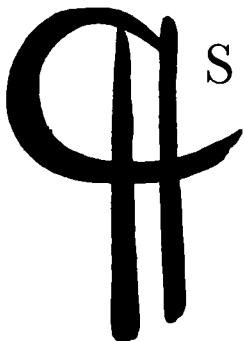
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